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duties faithfully and rise equal to the occasion. There is one thing to which I would like to draw your attention and also the attention of the hon. Members and that is this. [We are building very healthy traditions in public life. This party, as you are all aware, is perhaps the one of its kind in the whole of the country which is non-communal in character after the advent of independence in 1947. Therefore I feel it a great privilege and honour to have been elected by members of all communities as the Leader of this party. I once again thank you as well as the House for congratulating me and also thank my party for electing me as the Leader of their party.]

III.—DISCUSSION ON THE GOVERNOR'S ADDRESS.

SPEECH OF H.E. THE GOVERNOR.

Hon. Members of the Legislature,

1. Let me first of all thank you for your courtesy in attending this joint session. Several important matters will come under your scrutiny in the next few days and I have no doubt that your deliberations will be watched with interest throughout the State.

2. The financial operations of this State have become more difficult this year than they were during the last year, owing to the conditions prevailing in the money market and the financial stringency experienced even by the Government of India, and my Government have, in consequence, been forced to resort to various means for effecting savings with a view to sustain their programme on major irrigation and electricity schemes. Even last year the Government were faced with an unexpectedly sudden and difficult problem for financing part of the capital expenditure on these schemes, but, with great difficulty, they managed to adhere to their programme by adopting special measures. The position has been rendered even more difficult this year, but the Government cannot afford to curtail their programme, especially as over twenty-five crores have been spent on these schemes on valuable equipment, and in building up the necessary organization. The programme itself is expected to come into fruition by 1952 when it is expected that large tracts of dry land will be brought under irrigation and power availability will be doubled. For a State, sadly short of food and motive power, the importance of sustaining such a programme which holds out great hopes, cannot be over emphasised, not merely from the State's point of view but also from the All-India angle. It is expected that, as a result of the economy measures undertaken, a saving of about three crores, at the utmost, may be effected. But this move, by itself, will not enable the State Government to finance their programme and other measures will have to be thought of, including assistance from the Centre. The hon. Members are no doubt aware that the Government went into the open market for a loan of Rs. 4 crores and I am happy

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to announce that it has been fully subscribed. As a result of the economy drive mentioned above, the Government have had, with great reluctance, to slow down, postpone or cut down a number of measures contemplated by them for promoting the welfare of our people.

3. Owing to the persistent adverse seasonal conditions referred to in my last Address to you, the food position in the State continues to cause considerable anxiety. In view of the fast deteriorating stock position of rice in the State and the inadequate supplies received from the Centre, my Government were compelled to reduce the scale of rice ration from 8 oz. to 7 oz. per adult per day with effect from 2nd July 1950, the remaining 1 oz. being given in the shape of wheat so that the overall 12 oz. ration may be kept intact. All possible steps are being taken by this Government to maximise procurement and intensify food production in the State. The Government hope that, as a result of these efforts and the more generous assistance from the Government of India which they have pressed for, the hardship to our people can be ended soon.

4. In order to achieve self-sufficiency in food by the end of 1951, the irrigation policy of this Government is now mainly concentrated on pushing through schemes which will produce results by that date. In order to avoid delays in correspondence, all schemes which come within the scope of the intensive cultivation programme of the Government, including those under the Public Works Department, are now attended to by the Commissioner for Food Production in his capacity as Secretary to Government.

In addition to these schemes which will be yielding quick results, work is going ahead on the major schemes such as the Tungabhadra, the Lower Bhavani, the Malampuzha, and an attempt is being made to see that these bigger schemes produce some results at least by 1952. For example, it is expected that the Lower Bhavani Project will afford irrigation facilities for a second crop of paddy on about 10,000 acres in the year 1952.

5. My Government have been considering the question of improvement and reform in respect of the method of assessment of land revenue in ryotwari areas, the system of land revenue administration, the tenure of holding of ryotwari land and the conditions of cultivating tenants and agricultural labourers. A committee appointed to go into these questions and make recommendations has been functioning since 13th May 1950.

6. In the field of Public Health, a comprehensive policy and programme for the prevention, control and relief of leprosy has been formulated, and when financial conditions improve, we will be in a position to tackle the serious menace of leprosy successfully. A special scheme for the control of tuberculosis in Madras City has been sanctioned and this will be worked in conjunction with the Corporation of Madras.

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7. The Government have been continuing to do all that they can for the spread of basic education. At the instance of the Government of India, a special scheme of adult education was initiated last year at a cost of Rs. 3.14 lakhs, that Government having borne one-half of it. They have now given a further grant of Rs. 6.86 lakhs to this State, and another scheme to do away with adult illiteracy as quickly as possible is being drawn up.

In order to give an impetus to the elementary education scheme, the Government have proposed to increase the rate of their contribution to the elementary education funds of local bodies with effect from the current year at an extra liability of Rs. 50 lakhs. The report of the Select Committee on the concerned Bill will be presented to you during this session.

To meet the urgent demand for trained teachers for staffing secondary schools, the Government have opened two training colleges—one at Palghat and the other at Mangalore—from the academic year 1950-51. They have also admitted to special aid, certain private managements that come forward to open B.T. or B.Ed. courses in the year.

8. The expenditure on Harijan Uplift has been steadily and rapidly increasing. In 1949-50 it was Rs. 71.21 lakhs as against Rs. 8.7 lakhs in 1924-25. The Budget Estimate for 1950-51 is Rs. 92.67 lakhs. This increase of over Rs. 20 lakhs in the current year's budget over the expenditure of 1949-50 is a clear proof, if proof were wanted, of my Government's earnestness and determination to do their very best for the uplift of the Harijans.

9. With a view to relieve the shortage of houses in the State, a drive for the construction of houses through co-operative housing societies was initiated in 1947, and substantial provision is being made every year in the budget for the grant of State loans to these societies. The societies are also helped in the matter of supply of building materials at controlled rates. In April last, the Government sanctioned a scheme for the organization of housing societies in rural areas. This is an entirely new scheme, and it is proposed to introduce it in the current year in one village in each district. The Government have also decided to disburse loans to housing societies in rural and urban areas up to Rs. 80 lakhs and Rs. 15 lakhs, respectively, during the current year.

10. The Government Bus Service in Madras City is fast developing and is affording great comfort and convenience to the public. It is also financially successful. The Government have decided to extend the scheme to the districts of Chingleput, South Arcot and Nellore and necessary action to implement this decision will be taken soon.

11. The Government have constituted a committee consisting of officials and non-officials to consider the improvements that may be made in the administration of jails and to suggest suitable reforms for the purpose.

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12. Owing to the liberalization of the franchise qualifications under the Representation of the People Act, 1950, a supplementary enumeration of voters throughout the State became necessary, and this has been completed recently, and the preparation of the supplementary draft electoral rolls for the State Legislative Assembly and the Union House of the People has been taken up. The draft rolls for the Madras Legislative Council are also under preparation. The draft rolls are expected to be ready for publication as the preliminary rolls in September 1950 for being finalised after the disposal of claims and objections.

During this session, both the Houses will be afforded an opportunity to discuss, on a Government motion, certain important questions connected with the elections under our New Constitution, namely, the question of single-member and plural-member constituencies, reservation of seats for the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and the conduct of elections.

13. My Government have already taken action, with reference to Article 187 of the Constitution, for setting up an independent Secretariat for the State Legislature, and the proposals which they have finalised in this behalf will be placed before both the Houses for approval during this session.

14. Since I spoke to you last, my Government have decided to extend their scheme of Separation of the Judiciary from the Executive to five more districts in the State with effect from 15th August 1950. The results so far achieved are encouraging.

15. The law and order situation in the State has been generally satisfactory, due to the vigilance of the police forces and the magistracy. Activities of subversive elements still persist in certain areas but the vigorous action taken by the Government has led to a considerable decline in the number of serious crimes like murder, looting, robbery, etc.

16. I shall now proceed to indicate to you the more important legislative measures which will come up before you for consideration during the current session—

(1) You will be asked to consider the Madras Hindu Religious and Charitable Endowments Bill, 1949, as amended by the Joint Select Committee.

(2) The Report of the Select Committee on the Madras City Improvement Trust Bill will shortly be presented to the Legislature.

(3) *The Madras Warehouses Bill, 1948.*—The report of the Select Committee will come up for your consideration.

(4) The Madras Agriculturists Relief Act, 1938 (Madras Act IV of 1938) was enacted in order to give relief to indebted agriculturists and made suitable provision, among others, for scaling down their existing debts and for redemption of usufructuary mortgages. Certain practical difficulties have been experienced in the working of these provisions and it has been found necessary to amend the Act suitably. An amendment Bill for the purpose is expected to be introduced in this session.

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(5) Article 190 (1) of the Constitution requires that the State Legislature should provide by law for the vacation, by a person who is chosen a member of both the Houses, of his seat in one House or the other. Necessary legislation in this behalf will be introduced during this session.

(6) *The Malabar Tenancy Act, 1929.*—It is proposed to introduce a Bill to amend this Act in this session.

(7) Certain practical difficulties have been experienced in the administration of the Madras Buildings (Lease and Rent Control) Act, 1949, whose life expires on 30th September 1950. Necessary legislation for continuing the Act and for carrying out certain amendments to it will be introduced in this session.

(8) It is proposed to introduce legislation for the constitution of a Contingency Fund for this State as provided for in Article 267 (2) of the Constitution.

17. These and other matters will be engaging your attention this session and I have no doubt that the care and thoroughness so characteristic of your deliberations will once more be evident in the discussions that will take place. May Providence give you faith, courage and wisdom in the task that lies ahead of you.

I thank you once again for your courtesy and your patience.

MR. CHAIRMAN:—“I have to inform the House that on the 1st of this month, His Excellency the Governor was pleased to make the above speech to both the Houses of Legislature copies of which have been placed on the table of the House on the 1st August.

“Now let us proceed with the discussion on His Excellency's Address. I find that hon. Members Sri Adityan and Sri Venkata Reddi have given notice of motion thanking His Excellency, which are identical in terms. May I know who is going to move the motion?”

SRI G. VENKATA REDDI:—“I will move it, Sir.”

SRI S. B. ADITYAN:—“I agreed.”

SRI G. VENKATA REDDI:—“Sir, I move—

‘That an humble Address be presented to His Excellency as follows:—

“May it please Your Excellency,

We, the members of the Madras Legislative Council, beg leave to thank Your Excellency for the Address, delivered to both the Houses of the Legislature.”’

“I move this resolution with pleasure, and congratulate His Excellency's Government for its well-merited and legitimate claim of being proud of its achievements in spite of the adverse circumstances and fissiparous tendencies of certain sections of the people of the Province. The Government with all its courage,

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perseverance and resourcefulness pursued its programme of development of schemes in respect of irrigation and power. The very fact of the Government getting a loan of one crore and odd in the open market goes to show that the credit of the Government in the open market is at its high level. Regarding this loan, it is a novel method for the development of capital schemes which this Government have embarked upon and its success goes to show that in spite of certain sections of the people creating a sort of alarm to achieve their own ends, the Government is at its highest level as far as the credit system and the financial position, if viewed impartially.

“Regarding the projects, I would like to mention the Tungabhadra Project which is close to my district with all its aspects. I humbly submit that besides the scheme that is now being worked out, there is another scheme which was thought of once and now left off for reasons unknown, namely, the High Level Channel which is commonly known to those who know about the Tungabhadra Project, as Mackenzie scheme. If this scheme was taken up, not only the area of Bellary and Kurnool districts which are covered up by the present scheme, but also part of Anantapur which is known for its famine, will be covered up. Then, people who are frustrated there, will be able to get much more amelioration by the introduction of the Mackenzie scheme. Further it will also irrigate large acres of land in Anantapur. I wonder why that scheme has not been taken up. The other day, when I visited the spot of the Tungabhadra project, I was told by the officers concerned who are working there that there was scope to take up High Level Channel scheme and it may be pushed through by the Government, in future. I am not able to understand why the scheme has not been introduced immediately in view of the fact that Anantapur is a famine-stricken district.

“Regarding power supply, I want to bring one matter to the notice of the Government. At present power-supply from Mysore is passing through the Anantapur district. I want that this should be tapped and the Anantapur district should be given the benefit of utilizing the power throughout its territory. I think this can be easily done.

11-15 a.m. “Sir, with regard to the maintenance of law and order, His Excellency is right in his statement that it is highly satisfactory. Of course, there are people who blow hot and cold at the same breath. They are propagating a false idea that in their districts especially in Andhra, people should arrange their own squads and village defence squads to meet the Communist orgy and incendiarism, murder and loot with courage, which demands a tooth for a tooth and an eye for an eye. There are instances—I hope all the people, not only the Members here but also the people outside, are acquainted with them—of dastardly acts of the Communists sparing not even the women and the children for the folly of the father or the husband being a Government servant and taking prompt action for controlling these lawless, despicable and anti-social elements. Under these circumstances, the Government servants, especially

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the police who have to preserve law and order, should give protection to the villagers, and at least to safeguard their own persons, meet violence with violence. Thus the nefarious deeds of these lawless people were controlled in many places in the Andhra districts by the very courage of the police there. That being so, I am surprised to note that while certain people in their own places in those districts would highly appreciate the prompt action taken by the authorities who are responsible for the maintenance of law and order there, at the same time, when they come here to Madras they condemn the actions of the police as excessive. There are even certain sections of the people as you all know, who demand public enquiries as if the actions of the police were excessive, and at the same time raise a hue and cry that no person or property is safe in those districts unless the authorities move promptly and check the lawlessness. I am at a loss to know how one can check violence without using the necessary force to meet the violence and how action can be taken against those people who tried their best to bring the situation under control. Perhaps they think that they should submit meekly to the violent actions of the Communists and still be able to ensure the maintenance of public order. I leave it for the impartial judgment of the people of the Province.

"Sir, regarding the food situation, I have to say it is very acute. There is frustration on all sides. Under the circumstances, I should like to refer to the statement of the Minister for Food in the Union Government that there can never be food scarcity in the country and that there should be psychological stability. He even deprecated the irresponsible utterances of some people who have got their own axes to grind against the people in power. He said that by utterances such as that the food position is acute a sort of panic was being created. But really the situation is being ably met by the Government in spite of the adverse seasonal conditions for which they are not at all responsible. Still the Government are doing their best to improve the position. From certain instances published in the papers we have come to know that acute position exists in some of the districts. I only wish that the Government promptly look into it and move in the matter so that such things may not be heard of hereafter by the people. Sir, I am surprised to note that there are people who want to give the go-bye to these controls. But there are many people who think that the removal of the controls would do more havoc. I leave it to the best judgment of the authorities to look into these problems and take speedy action. The problem of food is such a serious one that none should lightly play with it and the Government, I am sure, as far as I know from the circumstances in my district, are giving a priority to this problem and meeting the situation with courage and promptness. In this connection, it may not be out of place if I mention that the Government must look to the administrative adjustments and put an end to the red-tapism that still exists there.

"Sir, with every possibility of Global War being in sight, with all the restrictions under which the people have been labouring, with the prices soaring high and the condition of the middle

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classes and the poor being very precarious, the Government have now raised hopes in the minds of the public by their sincere attempts to push through many major and minor projects and by giving relief to the agriculturists by way of subsidies and loans and by their meeting lawlessness with success. I wish that the Government, in spite of the adverse criticisms, succeed in taking up all the schemes with courage, and in meeting the situation firmly make the common man feel that the Government are with him in his distress and that he can tide over the present situation.

“Sir in a State like ours, diversity of opinions among divergent multitudes would ever be there. The Government must go on and act with promptness and alertness and see that the people do not get panicky and that they are fully confident that the Government are with them. Sir, I move the resolution.”

SRI M. NARAYANA MENON:—“Mr. Chairman, I am extremely delighted to second this resolution. I may say at the very outset that this Government have not been lax all these years in attempting a progressive administration of the State. There is no doubt an accusation that the common man is left out and nothing is done for the benefit of the common man. But I am unable to understand this accusation at all. So far as I understand, the Government by carrying out certain reforms have done more to the common man than to the plutocrat or the aristocrat. Let us consider first the introduction of prohibition. In fact the Government have lost a good deal on that account and yet the Government did not give it up. What is the reason? The Government were not trying to get money from this source and leave the reform merely to the conscience of the people and the person who was drinking. That is one achievement for which we must thank the State Government.

“Then, Sir, let us consider the abolition of untouchability. There also much has been done by this Government for the common man. A man who has not been considered as a member of the society and a man who has been down-trodden and ill-treated is now on the same level in society as even the plutocrat and the aristocrat. Then with regard to the labour legislation undertaken by this Government, has it not been for the benefit of the common man? Then there is the Harijan Uplift work. There are the major and minor irrigation works and the housing schemes undertaken by the Government. There is the nationalization of transport. Are these all not for the benefit of the common man? They are all more for the benefit of the common man than even for the middle classes or the aristocrats or the plutocrats.

“Then, Sir, the next thing for which every one should thank this Government is for their not dropping the highly expensive irrigation and electricity schemes in spite of their financial stringency. We have very often seen how our Finance Minister, Mr. Gopala Reddi, is very anxious about the finances of this Government and how he has wanted to have this tax and that tax and

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so many other taxes in order to save the State from financial difficulties. At the same time, we have seen how the Hon. Minister, Mr. Bhaktavatsalam, has been making demands for the construction of irrigation schemes. With the demand on the one side and with the financial stringency on the other side, there is always a conflict. Somehow the Government have got on without difficulty, though this year they have had to borrow four crores of rupees for the up-keep of the Government or for the construction of irrigation schemes and so on. I know I cannot thank the Government for this borrowing. Borrowing by the Government is certainly a drawback. At the same time, this year they have been successful in their loan, showing thereby that the people have confidence in the Government. But every year, if the Government borrow four or five crores, then the people will lose the confidence in the Government. So the Government should certainly stop this borrowing system, because the national income will go down and the people will be put to very many difficulties hereafter."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"I thought that it was an accepted principle that capital expenditure should be financed from borrowings."

SRI M. NARAYANA MENON:—"If the Government could carry on without borrowing, well and good. But if the Government can do the thing only with borrowing, that is bad. If the Government borrow for the construction of these works only, I do not blame them. But why should they do it? They can open a fund for the development of the irrigation systems. If the Government are able to do that, we must congratulate the Government on the success they have achieved."

"Then, Sir, why is it that the Government are not able to command the necessary money? That is another point. Is it not because they have no fixed policy with regard to the ism they want to follow—whether it is capitalism or communism or any other ism? Are they sure of what ism they want to follow? If capitalism is the policy of the Government, if progressive capitalism is the policy of the Government, then they may tell the people that it is their policy and the people will come forward and invest their money in industries and so on and that will bring them money. But if they halt and consider and not decide, then they will not get enough money for their purposes. Only by raising the national income they must find money for all purposes and not by simply borrowing. Do the Government think that they would get money every year by borrowing unless they raised the national income of the people? They must start more industries and get more money. I am not blaming the Government for borrowing for meeting capital expenditure. It is not my point. But do they think that they can go on borrowing four or five crores every year for capital expenditure, though no doubt it is productive capital expenditure? Because the people have not got enough money to lend to the Government. This year they have got the

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money from the people because the Government are doing something for the country by way of starting irrigation works and so on.

"Sir, the Government must have a definite policy with regard to the ism they want to follow—whether it is capitalism or progressive capitalism or qualified capitalism and so on. If they say that they are following communism, I would advise the Government to nationalise everything and have enough money."

THE HON. SRI K. MADHAVA MENON:—"There is something in between."

SRI M. NARAYANA MENON:—"If you leave out capitalism and progressive capitalism, you will call it socialism which, after all is only progressive capitalism and not communism."

"Then, Sir, I want to say one word with regard to agrarian reforms. It has been stated in His Excellency's Address that a committee has been appointed to go into the questions of the method of assessment of land revenue in ryotwari areas, the system of land revenue administration, the tenure of holding of ryotwari land and the conditions of cultivating tenants and agricultural labourers. It is a very necessary thing and a necessary step taken by the Government. After the Government get the report of that committee, they can certainly do something for the benefit of the agricultural labourers and the cultivating tenants and so on. But with regard to Malabar, why are the Government so hasty? Where is the hurry for them to proceed with the legislation in spite of the demands made by the people of Malabar that the legislation should wait till the committee has reported to the Government? After that, we can have one uniform land tenure system for Malabar as well as for the rest of the 24 districts of the State. Why a differentiation in the case of Malabar? It is always said, Sir, that Malabar is different from the other districts, that its land tenure is different and so on. It is so with regard to language also. Languages are different in many places; yet, are we not making an attempt to have a uniform language for the whole of India? Again in the matter of civil laws, are we not making an attempt to have a uniform law in the country, such as the Hindu Code, except of course with reference to Muslims? Similarly, in regard to land tenure also, you can have one legislation for the whole State. When the committee's report is received, it will show us the way in which such legislation can be undertaken. So far as Malabar is concerned, let me not be understood as saying that there should be no permanency at all given to the tenants. I agree that permanency should be given to the tenants; but there are several other matters on which some consideration has to be bestowed, and that has not been done. I do not say for a moment that the Minister responsible is not doing things with any good intention; I know perfectly well that according to him, it is all for the benefit of the people, and he has got the best of intentions in the matter. But even men with the best of intentions occasionally go wrong. I say that there are several

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other matters which have got to be taken into account before passing such legislation. There are two sides to this question there are persons who will very much suffer on account of this legislation, and I know also there are very many persons who will benefit by it. I can quite understand your attempt to give help to the tenants; but I cannot understand your idea to put down the janmi and the landholder and take away from them what they have been receiving and having for a very long time in Malabar. The moment the Bill is passed, all these landholders will have to recommence their lives with quite a different budget for the maintenance of their families. They will be very much reduced in their wealth and in importance. I say all these things must be considered, and I therefore request the Government to wait for the report of the Land Reforms Committee which I am sure will give us an idea as to how the entire matter should be dealt with so far at any rate as the Malabar district is concerned.

“ Now, Sir, one word with regard to education. The policy of the Government with regard to education has been a little halting before; but now I believe it is on the right track. Even there, I would very much wish to have certain changes made for the benefit of the State. As I understand the announcement of the policy of Government, the regional language is given importance. I quite understand that; the regional language cannot die; people must write, read and write books and poems in that language; at the same time, we cannot forget one very important thing, viz., the development of a common language for the whole of India. Though there is an attempt made in that direction, I think it is not sufficient. Hindi must be made compulsory to all and everybody should be induced to learn Hindi. Then only you will have a common language. I can tell you certain difficulties which the officials experience in other States of the country. Suppose a Madrasí goes to Delhi or to any province where the regional language is Hindi, his children when sent to school, will not get much benefit by being educated there, because it is in the regional language that instructions will be given at the very outset. Whether it is a Tamilian, a Telugu or a Malayalee, whoever it is that goes there from South India, he will experience the same difficulty. That is the case also when a Malayalee is in the Tamil Nad or in the Telugu area or when a Telugu is in Malabar and so on. In order to see that those difficulties are removed, we must, of course in due course of time and not all at once, see that a common language is developed for the whole of the country and that the medium of instruction is a common language. English is certainly necessary for international purposes, for cultural purposes and so on; and so, it must be kept on and there is no harm resulting. As regards Sanskrit, though it is a classical language and not a vernacular, I submit it is highly necessary that every inducement should be offered for the study and development of that language, because it is that language which is a culture-house for us Indians, for the development of the vernacular languages and also for many other purposes. In fact, all over India, when we examine the real culture of the people, we find there is

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very much derived from Sanskrit, and therefore, it must be maintained. I find in the Address not much stated about Sanskrit, about the culture we are to have from Sanskrit education. I think His Excellency should have referred to it.

"Then, some very good things have been done in regard to education, especially with regard to the training of teachers for secondary schools; one college has been started at Palghat and another at Mangalore, and there are other such institutions. I understand that, if necessary, the Government are also prepared to open some other institutions for the purpose.

"One other matter in regard to which the Government are entitled to our thanks is the separation of the judiciary from the executive. It is going on apace and we are going to have something more of it this month, and we are sure that before the year is out, the separation will be complete throughout the State.

"The two other matters which require some mention are the food position and the treatment of the subversive elements. I know so far as the latter is concerned, the Government are taking steps to put down the subversive elements in the country, but whether they will be able to put them down or not depends, not only on the Government, but probably also on foreign states. Their money, their persuasion and their help, may help them to continue their activities here, but I am sure the Government are taking the necessary steps in the matter and they do deserve our thanks for it.

"As regards the food position, I cannot accuse the Government of not having done enough. It may be the result of their efforts is not very satisfactory; but still the Government cannot be blamed. We may say that there is no food; but really there is no food available anywhere and the Government have been trying to get food for the people. There are so many difficulties in the way, and therefore what we can ask the Government to do is to strive their very best to get us food, and I know they will do that.

"With these remarks, Sir, I second the resolution that has been proposed by my hon. Friend."

SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—"Mr. Chairman, Sir, while thanking the Government for what has been done, I should like to say that enough has not been done."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"Before the hon. Member proceeds, may I say there are some amendments to be moved to the resolution. I think it is better they are also moved now, so that discussion may proceed on all of them. The main resolution has been moved and seconded. Mr. Farookhi, Mr. Uppi and Mr. Narayanaswami Nayudu may also move their amendments now, and then discussion may take place on all of them."

JANAB ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI:—"May I know the procedure, Mr. Chairman? Are all the amendments to be moved now and then the speakers should speak on them afterwards?"

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MR. CHAIRMAN:—"You know the other amendments also; so, you can make your speech after moving your amendment. Then we shall go to the other members who will move their amendments."

JANAB ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI:—"Mr. Chairman, Sir, I move—

'Add the following at the end:—

"but regret to note—(i) that the speech of Your Excellency which is a Government pronouncement does not contain definite and practical steps calculated to promote the interests of the common man as enjoined by the directive principles of State policy laid down in the Constitution;

(ii) that the Council of Ministers are following a policy of 'Wait and see' without addressing themselves to the tasks devolving on them as representatives of the people;

(iii) that in regard to production and distribution of food, the Government have hopelessly failed to ensure even a meagre ration of 12 oz.;

(iv) that the proposals for the spread of education are halting;

(v) that the policy of the Government is not calculated to solve the housing problem even in the distant future;

(vi) that some of the legislative measures are hastily conceived and they fail to take note of principles which should govern such legislation;

(vii) that the Government Transport system has neither provided comfort and convenience nor it is run efficiently and that its success financially is problematical;

(viii) that proposals regarding delimitation, conduct of elections and other cognate matters in regard to elections under the new Constitution are vague and indefinite."

"Mr. Chairman, Sir, it is unnecessary for me to say that when we criticise the Address of His Excellency the Governor, we are criticising only the governmental pronouncement. We have the highest regard for His Excellency and we know how His Excellency is doing his utmost to give comforts to the people in the State. He is going about from place to place at great personal inconvenience and giving advice to the people. Therefore, Sir, I say there is not the slightest disrespect shown to His Excellency when we criticise his Address. But, Sir, we feel that in a pronouncement such as the one made by His Excellency, there must be something to give comfort to the people. There is nothing in that speech which can give a ray of hope to the hearts of the suffering humanity in the State; on the other hand, there is a sense of disappointment felt.

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"First of all, Sir, I shall deal with the problem which is at present agitating the minds of the people to the highest possible degree, i.e., the food problem. I must confess I realize that our State Government are helpless in the matter; their policy is being directed by the Central Government in this matter. It is very regrettable to note that the hon. Mr. Munshi, the Food Minister to the Government of India, is not able to realize the gravity of the situation. He goes from place to place and says that the food situation is not serious, that everybody can live without much difficulty. He does not realize that in certain places, for weeks together there is no food ration available. I have received a telegram only this morning from the Secretary of the Congress Committee of a certain place to the effect that for the last two weeks, people are living on 2 oz. ration only. This morning, I read a statement in the Press by our Food Secretary. He says that the 12 oz. ration will be continued, though it may not be that there will be much of rice in it. Sir, I have been going about from place to place, at least in my own constituency, and I have seen that this 12 oz. ration is only a myth. It is a phantom; there is no such thing as a 12 oz. ration whether it be in the shape of ragi or in the shape of wheat or any other foodgrain, leave alone rice. 12 oz. is not being given in any place, so far as I am aware. Therefore, Sir, it is a very serious matter to which the Government should address themselves. The production of food is a thing which has to be thought of after we tide over this food crisis. We cannot simply sit complacent and think we can produce enough food and stop imports from 1951. I would suggest to the Government that they should try to import as much rice as possible and as much foodgrains as possible without standing on prestige. I mean, prestige in thinking that a big country like ours where crores of people are living, why should we not stand on our own legs with regard to food. It is certainly a matter to be considered at leisure and not for the present. For the present, I feel the people are really suffering. Of course, Government may say, there are no deaths by starvation and there is no such crisis. But whatever the Government may say the common man could not believe it. He has his own experience. His experience is that there is no food in the country and that in spite of all our attempts at procurement, food cannot be had. The Hon'ble Food Minister of the Government of India feels that there is deficiency so far as procurement is concerned. But the fact is, on account of drought, on account of excessive rain and many other natural circumstances, there is no food. Therefore, such being the case, if we sit complacently and make easy speeches that the people are quite all right and if there is proper procurement food can be had and so on, that cannot satisfy the common man who is suffering, hungry and starving. The common man feels that the Government have hopelessly failed in their duty with regard to the food problem. I would, therefore, most earnestly impress upon the Government the necessity of importing or getting foodgrains from whatever place it is possible to get to relieve the distress which the common man is facing today.

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a.m.

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" Now, Sir, so far as the question of food production is concerned, I would suggest that steps should be taken, and immediately taken. But, in this connexion, I would ask the Government whether any serious attempts are being made in that direction. We are having what is called the Tree Planting Week, according to which we plant trees. For demonstration purposes it is all quite right. But, are we really serious about the matter? It is a question which the Government should consider. The ryot is suffering.

" Then, Sir, there is another difficulty so far as foodgrains are concerned, and that is with regard to prices. Perhaps during the last meeting of the Provincial Food Advisory Council or immediately after it, the price of rice or paddy had gone up by 6 annas per maund. I do not know the reason why there was this rise in price. The common man cannot understand this rise in price. Probably the Government have not been able to control the price. So, unless you control the price it is not possible for the common man to live, far from his being able to live in comfort; at least he should be able to live a life which can sustain him for some days. Are we to see these people starving and dying on the pavements of the streets, as people died in Bengal some time ago? Certainly this Government cannot tolerate such a state of affairs. Then it was a foreign Government and not a National Government. No National Government can do or think of such a thing. We realize and we do know that our Government are trying their utmost and they are solicitous about the comforts and needs of the common man. There are methods of doing it. I am only criticising the methods of the Government in tackling the problem. The Government have not realized that their methods are not correct. If you begin to increase the price of rice—today it is 12 annas a measure, tomorrow it will be 13 annas and the day after 14 annas a measure—how can the people live(?) Government have also failed to stop black-marketing. Even today anybody can see that rice is going from place to place in bags. As a matter of fact, we read in papers that 230, 450 and 650 measures of rice had been seized by the police. So blackmarketing is flourishing. You will be surprised to know that rice is being sold in the Chingleput district at Rs. 1-14-0 a measure. I am afraid it may go up even to Rs. 2-8-0 or Rs. 3 a measure. What have the Government done to check this and the Government have to give an answer to it, because it is a question which is being put by the common man to the Government. Are you going to allow such a state of affairs to continue like this? Blackmarketing must be stopped at any cost, but the Government have not taken proper steps to stop it. So, unless blackmarketing is stopped, there will be no use trying to adopt any other methods. Some anti-social people have become accustomed to blackmarketing and they want to enrich themselves at the cost of the poor man and therefore the common man thinks that the Government have not done anything to stop it. In fact, the Government have not done anything to fix up the

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price or to see that the price does not rise. It is not only in the case of rice alone, but it is so in the case of every other commodity. You can find it from the statistics relating to prices of commodities which are being published. For instance, if a man goes to the bazaar he will find that the price of chillies has gone up from Rs. 2-8-0 a viss to Rs. 4-12-0 or Rs. 5. Is there any article of necessity for the common man, the price of which has not gone up during the last one or two months? It goes up every day. If a man goes to the market with Rs. 2 thinking he can purchase an article at yesterday's price he finds himself that he cannot do so and has to come back disappointed. Such being the case, I feel Sir, it is the imperative duty of the Government to see that the needs of the common man are satisfied and that he is made to live in comfort, or at least so as to sustain himself for some days, so that after he tides over the crisis he can think of other things. Therefore, I feel that the food problem has to be tackled very delicately and seriously and that our Ministers, particularly the Hon'ble Food Minister of the Central Government, should not be under the mistaken impression that the food situation is not really bad as they think.

"Then, Sir, there is another important question and that is with regard to housing. In spite of the fact that the Government have been trying to relieve the acute housing situation, they have not seriously attempted to do anything in the matter. I understand that a factory for manufacturing pre-fabricated houses has been opened and that the Government are trying to see that more houses are built. But, what is the condition today? Even in remote villages, we are not able to get housing accommodation, leaving aside the case of Cities and important towns in the State where the position is still more difficult. Such being the case, I ask, how is it possible for people to live.

"Sir, the three most important things which are necessary for the people are, food, clothing and shelter. In all these three matters, I feel the poor man, the common man, is suffering and the Government have not taken care to look to the needs of the common man. Therefore, I feel that it is very necessary that Government should see that the housing problem is tackled properly.

"Then, Sir, so far as clothing is concerned, there is not much difficulty in securing cloth, but the only difficulty is with regard to price. It is not possible for the common man to get the cloth at the price at which he could have easily got it some time back. It is therefore necessary that this question should also be taken serious note of by the Government.

"In regard to the question of transport, while thanking the Hon. Minister for Transport for the sincerity with which he is trying to carry on the State Transport business, I feel it is not possible for anybody to congratulate him on his efforts. In regard to this question of transport, I have always felt that the Government and their officers are not competent to cope with this question. It is a matter which has to be left to businessmen and not

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in the hands of politicians and statesmen. The Hon. the Finance Minister cannot understand the delicacies and difficulties of the transport problem. Only this morning when I was coming to the Council, I saw a non-gazetted officer of this Government stranded on the way and he said he was standing there for $1\frac{1}{2}$ hours attempting to catch the bus and when he saw me he shouted and stopped me and I gave him a lift. I feel it is competition and private enterprise that will go a long way to relieve the distress of the people so far as the transport problem is concerned. Now the whole monopoly of bus transport in the City lies with the Government. Government have only one or two buses for one route and the people on that route get stranded because there is no room in those buses and they have to wait from morning till the evening and finding that no seat is available they have to go back disappointed or walk to the place of their destination. Then the other question with regard to this transport is this, namely, the rise in the cost of transport. To-day there is one rate for a particular destination, from one place to another, and to-morrow there is another rate. That is, if they charge 2 annas from one place to another today, tomorrow the rate becomes $2\frac{1}{2}$ annas. A man, not knowing that there has been a rise in the cost, pays for the ticket, gets into the bus and finding that he has only a few annas in his pocket, not sufficient to pay for his return journey, he has either to get down and walk or get disappointed. That is the difficulty and yet our Transport Minister, in spite of repeated requests in regard to this question, has been stubborn and adamant and would not budge an inch from his position.

"Then, Sir, the Hon. Minister thinks we are working at a profit. The Government have purchased many Italian buses at a high cost and then they had to be abandoned because of so many defects and the transaction is a great loss to the Government. The Government must realize that in matters like this the loss will be borne not by the Government but by the public. If a private operator sustains a loss, he bears it but if the Government loses, the loss is merely transferred to the people. If the Government loses, they merely say: It has been a loss and we shall increase the fares. In that event, it is the people who suffer. I wish also to raise the question that there has been an enhancement in the taxation of motor vehicles; it has been raised from Rs. 25 to Rs. 30. The cost of petrol has not been reduced. These are not days when we can say that motor cars are a luxury though there was a time when people used to say that motor car was a luxury. To-day, apart from people owning motor cars, there are a number of people who have to travel by buses. I feel, Sir, that the question of transport is being very badly managed by the Government and it is high time that the Government should give it up in favour of private enterprise.

12 noon.

"I wish to say a few words upon legislative measures. Legislative measures have been very hastily conceived and this can be seen from the fact that soon after passing one legislative measure in one session, the Government comes up in the next session with

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an amendment. Perhaps on account of the fact that they stand on prestige they have not been able to reconcile themselves to any amendment moved by the popular representatives of the people here. So far as I can say with reference to my experience in this House for the last six years, there was hardly any amendment moved by the Opposition which was accepted by the Government, though there are many on which action has been taken for a subsequent amendment; particularly it is the case when the Bill comes passed by the other House. The Government perhaps think that it is not a correct thing or that it is below their dignity or they are going to lose time if they accept any of the amendments suggested by us. Whether they accept the amendment or not, the fact remains that they are hastily conceived. The Government have to see that their measures are such as would infuse confidence in the minds of the people and they should credit a legislative measure passed by the House with a certain measure of permanence and should not think that it would be amended in the next session.

Let me come to the question of education. I am glad the Hon. Minister for Education, Mr. Madhava Menon, is trying to do his best to advance education in the State but he has not been able to do it. It is a very hard thing no doubt. In one of my previous speeches, I pointed out that there were 6,000 villages in the State which do not possess even an elementary school. We want to educate the people; we want adult education and we want to have adult franchise and adult franchise cannot at all succeed unless the person who wants to exercise the vote knows what it is and if he has to know what the value of his vote is and why he should vote, he must at least be educated to some extent. I wish to ask whether our village people have been educated and what attempts have been made so far for educating them by at least opening one elementary school in each village. The teacher is a necessary adjunct to education. I do not know how the poor teacher can go about his work unless he gets sufficient salary in these hard days when living conditions are so difficult and therefore, in that connection, the salaries of the teachers comes into the picture also. I wish to know how many schools, elementary schools, I do not mind about high schools and colleges, have been opened during the tenure of office of the Hon. Minister for Education. That is a question that will have to be very seriously considered by the Hon. Minister.

Then, Sir, comes the question of health. I have read in the papers that for every minute there are two deaths from tuberculosis in this country. My Hon. Friend Mr. Madhava Menon will be surprised to hear that tuberculosis patients retain consciousness till the end, till the time they die; I have myself seen such patients, who know everything, who speak to their friends, greet them and their health is perfect and sound enough for all that. But the whole thing is that the disease is eating into their vitals; theirs is indefinite suffering and death is better than life in such cases. I would like to ask the Hon. Minister for Health what has been done with regard to tuberculosis patients. Probably, the

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number of deaths in this country is greater than in any other part of the world. Then there is leprosy and its incidence is increasing. I wish to ask the Hon. Minister whether any serious attempts are being made to bring down the incidence of leprosy. I am aware that in my young days, we never knew about so many diseases which are so common nowadays; we did not see so much of suffering by the people. It is because we lived in comfort."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"Ignorance is bliss."

JANAB ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI:—"Are we to think, Sir, that because ignorance is bliss, we lived happily in those days and that on account of our knowledge, we are suffering now. If knowledge is going to give us suffering and is going to be the cause of our suffering, then good-bye to it and let ignorance be there."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"My point was that the disease was there but people did not know it."

JANAB ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI:—"The disease might have been there but there were no deaths from it. If statistics are looked into, I am sure and I can say safely without fear of contradiction that the number of deaths in those days was much smaller than the number of deaths now."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"What about births?"

JANAB ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI:—"With regard to that, Sir, I read that the increase in the birth rate is due to the fact that people are taking rice."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"I read that also. And perhaps that is the reason why the Government wants to cut the rice ration (laughter)."

JANAB ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI:—"What I submit is that, Sir, in spite of this there has been an increase in population. What is the use of having unhealthy children? If the children are unhealthy they are a drag upon their parents and upon society. If the child is not in good health, the father has to lose so much money and devote more attention to the sickly child. I feel that not only should there be an increase of population but that the children must be strong and healthy. Here I hold a different view from others; there are many people who feel that there ought to be birth control but I say I want more children and healthy and strong children; I want the population of our country to increase so that there will be more soldiers, there will be more farmers and there would be more people to defend the country and such people should be healthy, strong, valiant and brave. But are we tending towards that end? We are being emaciated for want of food; the people are not being properly housed and given shelter and the people's health is shattered; we are growing as an

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emaciated nation. We are unfortunately in a state where if some one attacks us, we shall once again become slaves. We want to develop as a strong nation which will withstand any power on the face of the world. For that, it is necessary that we must have good food and nutritious food and when food is scarce and costly, where is the question of eating more vegetables? What is the price at which we can get it and how can any one expect the poor to get them and use them in place of rice? People cry even for *conjee* and how can they think of vegetables? There is no use in living in a Utopian world thinking that everything is all right and looking through a green glass and imagining that everything is fresh and green. The Government, the national and popular Government that we have, should understand the difficulties of the people; the popular Government of ours is in a much better position than a foreign Government to attempt all these things and the people have every right to ask the Government: 'What have you done to make this nation healthy and strong? What have you done to make the people prosperous, to give them shelter, good food and a healthy life?' As I have already said criticism is not calculated to attack the Government but to help them to lay bare to them their faults and make them realize that there are certain ways by which the Government can help the people."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"Was the Minister for Transport present when the Leader of the Opposition paid him some compliments?"

THE HON. SRI B. GOPALA REDDI:—"I am sorry, Sir, I was not present."

JANAB ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI:—"Let me turn to elections. I do not know the proposals of the Government with regard to the delimitation of constituencies. All these things are entirely in the air. We do not know when the elections are going to be held and what steps the Government have taken to ensure impartial elections. You will remember, Sir, there was a conference in Bombay. Whether we agree with them in other matters or not, we agree with them on one thing, that is that the elections should be impartial. They said of course that the Ministers should resign. I do not think our Ministers are so unfair; they are fair enough and I am sure they will do justice. In other free countries like England, the Ministers do not resign when the elections are in the offing."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"If they resign, to whom will they hand over the administration?"

JANAB ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI:—"That is easy, Sir; the administration can be handed over to the Governor. But, Sir, I have confidence in our Ministers and in their sense of fairness. I am sure they will not do anything to prevent other people from getting into power by means of the elections and they will be fair

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whether they will be elected or not. They will be fair; there is no question about that. But it is not merely necessary that you should be fair but you should also show to the world that you are fair. What have you done towards that end? Have you made any pronouncement regarding what you propose to do to ensure impartial elections. We understand from newspaper reports that the elections will be coming off next year and next year is only a few months ahead. If electoral rolls are not properly prepared and people are not properly educated as to what they vote for, why they vote for, and what it is that they lose if they do not vote, why should people go into the legislature, adult franchise will have lost its meaning and in fact it will do more harm without such education."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"I think a discussion on delimitation is coming up."

JANAB ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI:—"I am only making a passing reference to it, Sir."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"I am only trying to suggest to you that your remarks may not be so elaborate on this occasion when you have another opportunity of criticising it."

JANAB ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI:—"It is necessary that the Government should satisfy the people that they are going to ensure proper, impartial and good elections. As I said, I have every confidence in the Hon. Ministers. I only want that the people also should know it. We know personally each other that they would be quite fair, and I want the people also should know it. And that is why I want them to make that announcement."

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THE HON. SRI P. S. KUMARASWAMI RAJA:—"The people also know it."

JANAB ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI:—"I am glad to see that the Hon. Chief Minister also sails in the same boat with us. He is the greatest leader in this State. Sir, I do not want to take up the time of the House any longer, and so I will conclude by saying, as I have said earlier, that this Government have hopelessly failed in doing justice to the common man and the poor man and that His Excellency's speech does not contain anything conducive to create a state of affairs which will satisfy the people."

JANAB K. UPPI:—"Mr. Chairman, Sir, I beg to move the amendment that stands in my name—

'but regret that Your Excellency has not been advised by Your Excellency's Ministers properly as regards the situation in the State in various respects and the means of bringing effective relief to such a situation.'

"Sir, let me at the outset offer my thanks to His Excellency for coming to our midst and telling us what his Government intends to do. His address, according to parliamentary practice, is

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to delineate the policy of the Government in the near future, the measures that Government intend to bring before the country, the measures that Government intend to take for the amelioration and uplift of the masses. Now, the question is, 'Have this Government advised His Excellency properly?' I say in one word, 'No.' They have not told His Excellency that the situation in the country is very very precarious and dangerous. We are on the verge of a precipice, on the brink of falling regarding food situation. The highest person in the land, the person who is responsible for the lives of millions in the land, has only yesterday said in the Parliament 'absolutely there is no scarcity of food in the country'. Those are the very words he used. Now, Sir, did he not come to these parts and see things in person?"

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"Whom are you referring to?"

JANAB K. UPPI:—"To Mr. Munshi."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"I think you will be more relevant if you confine yourself to the address of His Excellency the Governor."

JANAB K. UPPI:—"I am referring to his subordinates in this province. Sir, provincial autonomy as it works to-day is a myth. I would say that there is absolutely no provincial autonomy. It was only yesterday I heard in the other House—for I was listening to the debate from the gallery—that the Hon. Finance Minister had to admit that the Local Government had to look to the Government of India for co-operation, instruction or permission even in small matters. So, Sir, that is the position to which we have come to. Sir, when the country is in flames, Mr. Munshi is fiddling there, saying that everything is all right. Sir, I come from a village in Malabar"

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"May I point out to the hon. Member that what Mr. Munshi said is not the point. Several previous speakers have dealt with the question of food situation to some extent. We are now on the address of His Excellency the Governor. If the hon. Member will deal with that he would be more relevant. There is no point in attacking Mr. Munshi."

JANAB K. UPPI:—"Now, Sir, what is the proper course for this Government to do? They should tell the Central Government that the country is in flames here, and if relief is not forthcoming, let them take up the reins of Government and run it. Sir, I come from a district which is most deficit. In 1943 or 1944, the situation in Malabar was worse. It was in Malabar food shortage started. In Malabar to-day the situation has not improved. In spite of the cry of Grow-More-Food Campaign, the situation is rather worse. We started with 12 ounces of ration, it came then to ten ounces, then to eight ounces and then to six ounces. Even that is likely to be reduced further to four ounces; for, that is to-day's message from the papers. That is the situation we have

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come to after spending crores of tax-payers' money. From twelve ounces we have come to four ounces. And who knows it may not be reduced still further. I can only declare, 'May God prevent such a disaster.' Now, what has this Government done in the matter? It is not for them to tell this House that they are helpless. No, if they find the situation is so bad that they cannot save the people, let them tell the Government of India that unless they help them they would resign and let the Central Government themselves run the administration. Is there any other situation in the province so serious as food; and it is on that issue they would have to resign, if they cannot improve matters.

"Sir, in Malabar, over and above the shortage of food, there is the producers-cum-consumers society, which makes matters worse."

THE HON. SRI K. MADHAVA MENON:—"Question."

JANAB K. UPPI:—"My Hon. Friend says 'question.' He is here in Madras and I am in Malabar. (Laughter.) The producers-cum-consumers society is a lifeless institution, which people are now using for pilfering, stealing and for misusing public money."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"I thought you had not much affection for it even while it was living."

JANAB K. UPPI:—"I had no affection for it even at its birth (laughter). It is on the floor of this House I said so then."

THE HON. SRI K. MADHAVA MENON:—"In spite of it, it grew well."

JANAB K. UPPI:—"Of the 108 societies started, the Collector of Malabar has remarked that 89 of them are more keen on pilfering than for serving the people. Is it not on records, I ask?"

THE HON. SRI K. MADHAVA MENON:—"No."

JANAB K. UPPI:—"He may deny; but I challenge him as a Malabar member, and if my statement is proved, what will he bet? (Laughter.) I do not want to say more about it. The life history of this producer-cum-consumer society is notorious. Every day in Malabar you will find pilfering, stealing and misappropriation taking place in these societies. See, how many cases of this type are pending in courts; how many people are dismissed who were in charge of these societies. Now, the point is these societies are giving six ounces of rice. But as a matter of fact, what they give is not even four ounces; because it is all a mixture of rice, sand and stone. If people refuse to purchase it, they have to go away without food. But if it had been entrusted to a private businessman he would take some interest to see that good quality food is sold. The Collector of Malabar has reported (it was published in the papers) that if supply does not come in two or three days, there is every likelihood of rationing breaking down

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in Malabar. Other districts also are undergoing the same suffering and reports show that people are eating tamarind seeds. But the Hon. Food Minister advises us to eat fruits, roots, etc., and perhaps one day he will ask us to eat grass also, though now, he has not come to that. Do Government seriously think that manual workers toiling in the fields all day can live on four ounces of food. They are already trying to live on whatever is readily available. The foodgrain now given is not even sufficient for their children. May I ask why this Grow-More-Food Campaign failed; why is it the result of this propaganda is in the reverse direction? I shall answer it myself. It is because of Government's policy of harassment in procurement. I have been repeatedly saying on the floor of this House that the policy of procurement has been one of harassment. I do not say that Government should give up control. What I say is, the entire subordinates were harassing the villages and the poor people so much, that they feel, 'why should I take all the trouble to cultivate foodgrain, when it is snatched away from me leaving me nothing to eat? I shall cultivate money crop instead of paddy.' So, in this way, several people have begun to cultivate cash crops like tapioca. At least, it will save them from the harassment of procurement officers; that is, what they feel.

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"I wish to put forward a suggestion to Government. At least from next harvest, let Government have 12 ounces ration in urban areas, and let them leave the rural areas alone. Do not touch the produce there. Perhaps that will enable the entire population in Malabar to get on for the next two or three months. If people in the towns are self-sufficient in food, then, food will not flow from the rural areas to urban areas. Thus there will be sufficient food in towns and villages. That is my suggestion. If the suggestion is worth acceptance, let the Government accept it. I ask the Government to address the Government of India and get things done well. They have been asking the newspaperers not to publish alarming news about the food situation in the country. This hush-hush policy has brought us to the dangerous point of a precipice and even a moderately heavy wind is enough to roll us down the precipice.

"I will now refer to other matters. In 1920 there was a huge agitation in the country for communal representation, communal justice and so on. The very able and far-sighted statesmen of the day at last found a panacea and passed the communal G.O. The Order was first applied to a few departments. When it was found effective after trial, it was extended to other departments. Let me confess that I was opposed to the G.O. in those days. But having seen the effect of its working for so many years, I feel that but for that G.O. Madras State would have become an Ulster. That G.O. has recently been declared *ultra vires* by the High Court. We shall not remain quiet. Huge demonstrations are being staged to restore the G.O. If the Government want to save this State, I request them to take immediate steps to restore it.

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"Then I wish to speak on education. The Government have been spending some more money on education, but the increase is not commensurate with the increase in taxation. Within four years, this Government increased the sales tax from Rs. 1-8-0 to Rs. 3. They have raised certain taxes from 600 per cent to even 1,200 per cent. I ask whether they have increased their expenditure on the education and health of the people in proportion to the increase in taxation. I ask the Hon. Finance Minister to give me an answer at once."

THE HON. SRI B. GOPALA REDDI:—"Sales tax was 8 annas in 1939 and now it is Rs. 1-9-0. We have increased the expenditure on education to more than three times."

JANAB K. UPPI:—"I am glad that he says so but it has got to be verified to satisfy myself. By this I mean no disrespect to him."

"This is a secular State and no religious instruction is imparted in schools. It has no place even outside the school hours. I have said this before and I repeat it. Religion and religion alone, be it Hinduism, Islam or Christianity, can keep the devil of Communism away from the country for some time—I do not say for all time. All propaganda against Communism is nullified by the other side. The Government need not spend for religious instruction. Let them afford facilities for those who want to give religious instruction to their children outside the school hours. Many people will not be able to impart religious education to their children at home. Such children will grow without religion and fall an easy prey to Communism and other devils. I hope the Government will consider this matter and take necessary action in the near future."

"I wish to bring to the notice of the Government the position about law and order. Thanks to the vigilance of the police and other authorities, law and order has been maintained well. But I must say that it is slowly slipping away as it were from the control of the authorities. Some of the officials take law and order in their own hands without caring for higher officers. They seem to think that they are all in all. I may make a passing reference to an incident which occurred in Cannanore a month ago. My Hon. Friend the Minister may say that the matter is *sub judice*. A month has elapsed and still the offenders are being booked. There was a quarrel between a Moplah and a few other Moplahs. The Moplah reported to the officer. The officer came with a posse of special police and without even a preliminary enquiry ordered lathi charge and arrest. That was the position. I hope the case will be enquired into."

"I have taken up much of the precious time of the House. With these words, I move my amendment."

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SRI B. NARAYANASWAMI NAYUDU :—“ I do not want to read the amendment* of which I have given notice. The first part relates to law and order and the second part relates to the food situation. The address says—

‘The law and order situation in the State has been generally satisfactory, due to the vigilance of the police forces and the magistracy. Activities of subversive elements still persist in certain areas but the vigorous action taken by the Government has led to a considerable decline in the number of serious crimes like murder, looting, robbery, etc.’

That is how His Excellency has been made to put the position and that is how we are asked to take it. The only effective answer that I can give is to quote from an article which appeared in the ‘Andhra Prabha’ dated 2nd August 1950 regarding Communist raids that took place on the 9th and 12th July 1950 written by Andhra Rashtra Congress Secretary Sri Kandula Obula Reddi and the Parliamentary Liaison Committee Secretary Sri Lakshminarayana. (Interruption.) I do not know the internal feuds between them. I daresay that at least the top-men in the Congress organization have got a sense of truth and propriety when they write to newspapers. If that is denied, I cannot help. I will first take the incident that occurred on the 9th July 1950 in the Guntur district. The hon. Member from Guntur is not present. I learn that he is a practical man. I do not know whether he will say that the version published in the newspaper is correct or not. The raid took place in a village called Durgi. It is twelve miles away from the nearest police station. On the day of the occurrence, the Circle Inspector of Police and Reserve Constables were away at a distance of six miles. Five or six Communists came to the village armed. There were 70 or 80 persons gathered together, and they were called by the name of village squads and they were intended to resist the Communist marauders. According to this report, I daresay, they have not gathered together voluntarily; they have been compulsorily asked to be assembled. They were asked to stay in the village during nights and to resist the communists when they came to plunder and loot the village. Were they given any arms? No. They were asked to resist the communists who were fully armed, without being given any guns or arms to defend themselves. It is just like Chanda Sahib resisting the siege of Arcot, with unarmed men. The police had gone in to those villages, asked these people to assemble and to keep awake during nights, and resist the Communists when they entered the villages with guns and arms. Do the Government seriously believe

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p.m.

* Add the following at the end :—

“ but regret to note in the Address :

(1) the omission to state the tragic realities underlying the law and order situation in the State and the failure of the Government to grasp the true problems or devise measures to prevent or at least to halt the rot threatening the very foundations of organized political society ;

(2) the dreadful failure of the Government to give all immediate incentives within the reach of the Government to maximise production and otherwise to increase supply of foodgrain so as to avoid the slow but steady exhaustion of the national human material which is the only remaining true asset of the nation.”

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that these people could defend themselves and at the same time resist and drive out the Communists? Why not the police give them training in arms and supply them with guns and bullets? Do they want to help the villagers without supplying them arms? Does America want to help the southern Koreans without sending arms to them? Does it grudge to supply South Korea with men, money and materials. Almost all the artillery-men in South Korea are equipped with American arms and guns and all the American military supplies have been sent already. That is how America wants the South Koreans to defend themselves and to drive out the Communist forces of North Korea. What is the use of sending men without arms? Can they defend themselves, much less take the offensive? Yet these people are called Rakshana Dals, that is to say protection squads. Is it for this kind of protective measures that the Government have taken against the Communist Pindaris and which the Government have envisaged in the address that we are asked to thank His Excellency? Sir, take the Kistna district. There is a village in that district which is infested with Communists. During day time they live in the hills and forests and at nights they come to the nearest village for plunder, murder and loot. What do they do, immediately they enter a village? They begin to shoot in the air and give an alarm signal. These village squads are already assembled there, without arms. What answer could they give? They simply come out with their sticks and lathis. These Communists say, 'why do you want to kill yourselves; you have no arms and you cannot resist us. We have not come here to do you any harm or to kill you. We want only one man and that is the village headman. Let that man come and we will take him.' This is what they say. But these people would not produce the headman before the Communists, because they know that the next morning the police would come and ask them why they did not fight the Communists and drive them out. In the result, some two or three people challenge them and get themselves shot by the Communists. The next day the Superintendent of Police with his police squad comes to the village and gives a Rs. 100 reward to the families of these two people who had been killed, in their resistance against the Communists. Thus ends the farce and that how these border villages are protected by the police against the ravages of the Communists. Who is really responsible for the death of these two people? I ask, is it not criminal on the part of the police to get these people killed, without providing them any arms? I can understand conscription of people to fight an enemy but I cannot understand conscription of people without providing them with arms for self-defence. The Superintendent of Police had the audacity to visit the village the next morning and say to the villagers, 'You are a timid sort of people; you are all cowards; why don't you beat back the Communists when they approach the village? Why don't you resist them with all your might?' Therefore that is my first complaint against the police, that they simply organize village squads to resist the Communist menace without providing them with arms and weapons. Otherwise there is no use of organizing these protection squads or Rakshana Dals.

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Next, Sir, let me go to the other two villages called Hanumanthapuram and Gummadapadu in the Guntur district. These villages are far away from the police station. Information was received that these villages would be raided by the Communists on the 10th, 11th and 12th June, that properties would be looted and that the village headman would be killed. Then what happened? One of these village squads went to the Deputy Superintendent of Police who was then camping near the village, informed him of these Communist raids and asked for police protection. They told the Deputy Superintendent that the Communists were only after the village munsif of that place and that if he was brought before them, they would take him away and leave the village without raiding it. What was the reply of the Deputy Superintendent of Police? Probably he was not so inspired as our Hon. Finance Minister who, when the last budget discussions were going on and when my hon. Friend Mr. Suryanarayana Rao was speaking about the Communist atrocities and referring to some incidents in which he himself was a victim, interrupted airily, 'Run away to Cuddapah'. I do not know whether the Deputy Superintendent of Police had advised the village headman to run away to Penukonda. Sir, I am not here to deprecate the actions of the police nor is it my intention to condemn them. What can they too do? They are too poorly equipped and they cannot muster their forces in any emergency and therefore it is, that we find that in spite of whatever action is taken by them to check the Communist menace in those border villages, the Communists are still conducting their raids and are still active. I am afraid it would be impossible for the police with their present equipment and strength to put down the Communist menace in the border. On the 10th, 11th and 12th, the raid actually occurred. On these occasions, the Communists did not come in batches of 6 and 7, as they used to do before, but in two batches of 20. At that time about 150 village squads had assembled, but how could they resist and defend themselves when they had no rifles and arms in their hands? Though there were some policemen with them, they too could not resist the Communists and they advised the others to get out of the village. But the village squads refused and still came out to fight the raiders. The raiders shot some of these people, looted their properties and ran away. These 150 people remained helpless against these 20 Communists, because they were unarmed and were not given the necessary weapons to defend themselves. Sir, even during the last debate on this subject I brought this to the notice of the Government and certain other members also suggested that we must give these villagers arms and guns to protect themselves. But the Hon. Minister for Law replied that if arms were given to them, the Communists would come and take them away from them. Is that a proper reply? On the fear that the Communists would take away the arms, you refuse to arm these people, and thereby you expose them to the danger of being attacked and killed by the Communists. When Malaya was invaded by the Communists, and their national forces were resisting them with all their

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strength, the British Government was supplying them with arms, ammunitions and other war materials, in spite of the fact that some of the national forces surrendered their arms to the Communists. Did they ever think that the Nationalist forces would surrender their arms to the Communists? Never mind the risk That risk will always be there. If you want them to give a regular battle to the Communists and drive out the raiders, you must arm them to the full. You cannot conscript people simply for the purpose of being killed. If you want them to go into military action, you must follow it up by equipping them with all the weapons of a soldier and give them the necessary military training in arms and other things. I am afraid, Sir, that nothing will come out of these village squads or the Rakshana Dal.

"Sir, recently the Hon. the Chief Minister made a tour in these districts and also visited some of the border villages in the Kistna and Guntur districts. May I request him to tell us something of what he had seen and what advice he had given to the villagers and the police to combat the menace? It is rather unfortunate, Sir, that while the Chief Minister is accessible to the Press, we have never heard him speak in this House. I am glad that he had used his influence with the Central Government and brought the Union forces to be stationed in the border. But I must, at the same time say, that so far as the responsibility for the maintenance of law and order is concerned, it entirely rests with the local police and the military cannot be of any use when such stray raids and lootings take place during nights and at stray hours.

"Further more, Sir, I want to put one question to the Government. This morning, I found a motion standing in the name of the Ex-Premier of this Province, for discussing a matter of public importance, namely, the shootings by the police. I ask the Hon. Minister for Law and Order, how many shootings had taken place in the Kistna district by the police? While, on the one hand, the Communists are shooting the poor villagers down, on the other hand, the police also are shooting them down. With regard to the question of resisting the Communists, I was one of those who suggested last time that they should be 'shot at sight'. Did the police shoot the Communists at sight when they raided the villages of Gummadapadu and Hanumanthapuram? Where did the Guntur police stay at that time? Sir, whenever some information is received that the Communists are going to attack certain villages, it is the duty of the police immediately to send a contingent of constables with necessary arms in a lorry to those villages. A few police lorries with a contingent of police constables, fully equipped must always be going from place to place to inspire the people with confidence and be ready for any emergency. Apparently, there is no such arrangement and that why these poor villagers are shot and the Communist raids are still persisting. Hon. members owe a duty to their constituencies to bring to the notice of the Government, whatever

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incidents are taking place in their constituencies regarding Communist menace. The police should be given full powers to shoot the Communists at sight and not the people of the villages. The Government must even declare martial law, if necessary, to put down this menace. Sir, I can understand what Martial Law is. But it has its own limitations. Military police are stationed at every village and public place, and when anything happens, without any enquiry or with only a farce of an enquiry, they condemn people and shoot them down. It is only when an active war is on, that shooting is permitted. But here also we must treat the Communists as enemies and deal with them in the same way as we treat an enemy in a war. It is not possible to arrest them and put them in jail. I want to know how many people have been shot at sight like that. Were any of these Communists shot when a raid was going on? I am sure there will be none. The police never come on the scene when a raid actually takes place. They simply go to the village the next morning after the raid had taken place the previous night, and arrest a few persons suspected of having helped the Communists and take them to the police station for enquiry. That is why we are dissatisfied with the action of the police. That is why, Sir, I have moved this amendment to the Address of His Excellency. What is the situation in the Province to-day with regard to law and order? His Excellency The Governor, in his address, says that the law and order situation in the State has been generally satisfactory due to the vigilance of the police and the magistracy and that the activities of subversive elements persist in certain areas but that vigorous action has been taken by the Government in order to put them down. What is the situation to-day? On the one hand there is the communist menace; on the other there is the police harassment, in the name of putting down the Communists. Sir, we cannot merely deal with the Communist as a kind pindari marauders. There is a difference between them and the pindaries. The pindaries were mercenary gangs who are out to loot and kill persons and passers-by, simply for the purpose of taking away their valuables and money. They had no object to establish their rule. But here these Communists are not like them. They do not want to kill and loot people merely for their property like the Pindaries. They work with a purpose and with an ideology behind them. They take their inspiration and guidance from foreign countries and they have got their own supporters in the villages also. We have read in the ancient Greek history that when the City States of Sparta and Athens were quarrelling with each other and when Prince Phillip of Macedonia rose to power, he went to the masses of the people and proclaimed to them that he had come to safeguard the rights and liberty of the people and asked them to make it an ideological struggle. In the same way, these Communists say that they have come to save humanity from poverty, starvation and death. They have an ideology behind them. They go from village to village and preach their doctrines and ideas and their ideological background and try to enlist the sympathy and support of the people there. They take advantage of the poverty of

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the villages, of the discontent among the people and also of the political situation in the country. They do not want to shoot and kill all and sundry. They want to take the lives of the village munsif and other influential people in the village. They have got a programme and policy to follow and thus they are trying to establish themselves in the villages. That is why we find a change in the communist programme of late. There is now a change in their tactics. Their technique of approach with the masses has also undergone a change. What is the change that we notice? We have known what Continental Communism is. We know what is Russian Communism. Continental Communism always tries to seek power first. It first tries to wipe out the police and assume the police portfolio and then it suppresses the people and begin to rule them, by taking law and order in its own hands. That is how Continental Communists are working and that is how their communism is spreading to other countries. But here, our Communists are reversing the tactics. That is why we call it *Nattu Communism*.

"But fortunately or unfortunately they do not adopt that 1 p.m. method because Asiatic countries' communism, struggling under colonial force, cannot do it. We had our own communism to fight Britain out of India. Therefore, it is that Communists want to say 'we shall change it; we shall be peaceful; we shall capture the police; political sacrifice and conscription, we will see later'. What is the result now? Is not society absolutely now on the point of disintegration? Are we to thank His Excellency when he says that it is looting and murder and all that? Are we to thank His Excellency when he says 'put people in the streets without arms and let them be killed?' Are we to thank His Excellency when he says that the thing is steadily increasing or decreasing? The whole British Government has sent one Force and a Chinese is commanding the Malayan Force. How is it that a few Communists tied down the Empire's resources. It is just as you have tied down the British resources. Communist bandits and guerillas outside, as my friend will say, can tie you down."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—"Is the hon. Member likely to take some more time?"

SRI B. NARAYANASWAMI NAYUDU :—"Yes, Sir."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—"Then he can resume his speech after lunch. The House will now adjourn and meet at 3 p.m."

The House then adjourned for lunch.

(After lunch—3 p.m.)

JANAB ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI :—"Sir, I had invited Dr. V. K. John for a party at 5 this evening. I have sent invitations to all hon. Members. If by any mistake there is any hon. Member who has not received the invitation, I request him (or her) to treat this as my invitation."

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MR. CHAIRMAN :—" I see there are a large number of hon. Members wishing to speak. It looks as if it will be late in the evening to-day. What do the Government propose to do in the matter? "

THE HON. SRI K. MADHAVA MENON :—" Sir, the hon. the Leader of the Opposition's party is at 5."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" We may break at 5 for half an hour and then resume at 5-30."

THE HON. SRI K. MADHAVA MENON :—" I have got an engagement at 5-30 in another place. I am presiding over a school function. The other Hon. Ministers will come just now. We may then decide."

SRI B. NARAYANASWAMI NAYUDU :—" Sir, I do not want to elaborate. But I wish to restate the main points. One point is relating to the *Rakshana Dals*. Are the Government going to continue them in the old footing? I am here reminded of a story in the Mahabharata. A king invaded another king's territory, and the other king was at his wit's end. He did not have sufficient army to meet the enemy. He hit upon a method, namely, he got all the Brahmans and the cows of that place, put the Brahmans on the cows, gave them *buddi chembu* and asked them to fight the enemy. The enemy thought that killing the Brahman and the cow would mean sin, and therefore, he did not kill them. That is how the other king scored a victory over the invader. These *Rakshana Dals* are like these Brahmans and cows. But unfortunately now, the other side Raja is a man not bred in Brahmanism and he has no fear at all of Heaven or Hell. If we send these Brahmans and cows, he will make a nice meal of them knowing this country and also this Government. Do not depend upon these *Rakshana Dals*. Do not have false confidence in them. Let us arm ourselves to the teeth.

" The second point is with regard to the shooting by the Police. I know a certain amount of order has been restored by the Police. But that is no justification for their shooting. Shooting by the police means no law at all. On the other hand I will advise that they may be detained as detenus. Please understand that we are in the midst of a world conflict between Communism on the one hand and the Government on the other. The Government have got to enlist the sympathy and confidence of every man in the world. The larger the party the larger you must build up that confidence. It is prudence on our part to conciliate as many people as possible and to see that the dread of communism does not grow, but is halted.

" In paragraph 15 of the Address, it is stated that there is a considerable decline in the number of serious crimes like murder, looting, robbery, etc. It is not that at all. When Louis XVI was drawn out from the palace at Versailles and taken by the mob of Paris to Paris itself, do you know what Edmund Burke said?

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He claimed a new era had begun. Those volcanic forces are underneath. They are erupting. Don't think of these things as past things. It is the uprising of a new school of ideology who want to overthrow the existing Government and substitute a Government by force and liquidate all the parties in the State. It is that you should fight against. You must bend your energies to fight them. It is, therefore, I say not at all derogatory on the part of this Government to make this problem a Central problem. The menace of Communism is no longer a provincial problem. It is bound to grow in dimensions, and it will darken the whole horizon. The Government will be engulfed into it. Unless the Government at this moment dislodge this standing menace to order and society, and destroy the very nucleus of the party, it will become a great difficulty later. Therefore, I submit that the Government should not take up this matter lightheartedly. Their very place in the Constitution is in jeopardy. Let them realize it. To-day they are Ministers, and there is no outside force seeking to oust them. The time will come when they will have to fly for their lives as much as the villagers are now flying for their safety. Let the Government call for statistics from the banks of East Godavari, West Godavari and Krishna districts. How many jewels are now kept in the safety vault deposits of the banks? What was the deposit last year? Now it will be found that there is enormous flight of capital from the villages to the towns. Ask how many persons had migrated from the villages to the towns and taken shelter there? If the Government care for facts, and if they want to rule, let them give what may be called the old Roman Empire order or the Pax Britanica order. The Government ought to give that, and they should stand up and challenge the barbarians who come to shatter that order. I do not want to take more time on this. I only wish to apprise the Government, not in a factious spirit, but in the true sense of the word, that they should deal with this Communist menace as a world problem, and not as a local problem.

"I now come to the food situation. Hon Members have already dealt with it, and, therefore, I do not propose to take much time over it. Here again there is one fundamental mistake which I wish to point out to the Government. I know it has become practically a Central problem. It is no longer a provincial problem. We cannot buy what we want, and we also cannot buy where we want. We are depending on the Centre, I know. When it is becoming a Central problem, it is all the more necessary for the Provincial Governments to stand up and say that the Centre is following a wrong policy, and should not follow that policy at all. I ask: 'Is there any justification for any nation to say that the community shall live only on six ounces of rice? Are not the Government interested in the development and maintenance of material man-power of this nation? What did Mussolini do? What did Hitler do? What did the Soviet Russia do? Did they go and furnish their peoples or did they go and build up their peoples? Is it a programme of slow starvation and final extinction or is it a programme of building up a virile nation?' That is the question

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the Government have to pose. (Interruption.) My hon. friend is rhetorical. Has he got the breadth of vision and statesmanship to say to people to live on six ounces of rice in this Sovereign State, and try also to hold a place among the comity of nations? I want to know whether the Central Government is right in saying that we should live on half a meal or that we should live on vegetables only. I ask, Sir, is the world devoid of grain to give you? Is there no world market to buy? Is there nothing for you to feed at all? I say there is. But why don't the Governments buy? They say self-sufficiency, and that they do not have the dollars. Suppose you have got your own house, and you have got to build up your children. Do you starve your babies in order to become self sufficient or do you go to beg of others to tide over the crisis, and then alone take up the question of self-sufficiency? Is the Government of India or this Government right when it says 'we shall live on half a meal.' It is not half a meal for one day or two days, but it is for months together. Does it not sap the vitality of the nation and make it unfit? After all what is their asset in the comity of nations? Why are China and India weighed in the international scale? It is because of their man-power—forty crores in China and thirty crores in India. When both these are combined, they are a sufficient match for the whole of the western nations. It is this man-power that we are now undermining when we say that people should live on six ounces of rice. That policy must be reversed at all costs either by buying or begging, or even by stealing to maintain this population in a fit condition. (The Hon. Dr. T. S. S. Rajan: 'Stealing?') Yes; even by stealing. You cannot help it. If you have starved me, and if you put a loaf of bread before me, I will steal it. You cannot help it. (Interruption.) I say it is better to steal and feed the nation than to famish it, and I join issue with the Hon. Minister. If they want to give only half a meal to my children and allow them to die slowly and not suddenly, all right; let them proclaim it as their policy. I differ from the Government and I challenge them to the utmost on that point.

"The next point I wish to refer to is about irrigation and electricity. His Excellency's Address makes reference to these two items. The minimum thing that can be done is to close the breaches that have occurred in the tanks and to push up irrigation works. Secondly electricity should be supplied at least to the villages to which connections have been given. Can any one deny these minimum things? The monsoon is coming. If there are the pumps, and if the lakes are filled up, there will be water, and there will be food until September or December. I ask the Hon. Minister in charge how many irrigation works have been taken up and how many breached tanks have been repaired. How many villages have got electricity, and how many applications for electricity are pending but not granted? So far as the central districts are concerned—North Arcot, Chingleput and Chittoor—if electricity is supplied, we could tide over this famine till September or December—at least half the famine conditions would not be felt,

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if not wholly. Will the Government give us figures in the matter? What prevents them from doing so? The Public Works Department is like the Vamana. Vamana covered the whole world with one foot, and the sky with another foot. Supply of water and electricity would make the situation easier. I have got great hopes in the Hon. Minister for Public Works, and I hope that at least when I come here next time, all the pending applications for electricity will be disposed of and electricity will be supplied to all the villages. It does not matter if it is on a temporary basis. It is not as if we want the Engineering department men to undertake all these irrigation schemes. Every villager is his own engineer for his own house and his own tanks. Do not bring about technical difficulties and availabilities. As Vamana did, you put your foot, and ask the people to do it. What about the Budameru? Has it been straightened? When the cyclone came, they stated that something should be done. But has it been straightened now? Are not people living on the edges of the Budameru stream? Who knows what will happen if another cyclone comes? How many people will have to starve, and what will be the overall deficit? It requires dynamic force to do all these things. I appeal to the Hon. Ministers concerned to see that these things are done expeditiously, so that it might be said that something has actually been done by this Government.

“Sir, I also want to refer to the communal Government Order. I know that the High Court judgment has been given on this point. I am glad that my hon. Friend, Mr. Uppi Sahib, referred to it. The judgment has been given with regard to the application of communal Government Order in the matter of admissions to colleges. That Government Order has been scrapped according to me. I do not know what the Government have done in the matter. But I hope they will appeal against the judgment of the High Court. 2-15 p.m.

“There is another point with regard to this. It was in this Council that an amendment to the existing Article in the Constitution was moved by me and passed also by the Council. Though it was passed by this Council, an Article in the Indian Constitution has been passed which goes against that amendment. It is one of the most wonderful things that the Indian Constitution is the only Constitution that has got an Article of this type. That is what I read in the papers. Who is responsible and how is it that it has been done? How is it that this clause which is alien to the constitutions of the world is found in the Indian Constitution? Everywhere there is a Republic, Democracy and sovereignty of the people. But how is it that an Article like this has crept into the Indian Constitution alone while you cannot find any similar article in any of the constitutions of the world? I am not sorry for it. Let them have it, let them have the victory. There is in Rome what is called ‘Phyrric Victory.’ That is, you can win the battle but you will not gain any territory. I appeal to the Government to make it Phyrric Victory for the jury. They can do it; it can be done. It rests upon the Government to see that the Phyrric Victory will only mean the loss of the two inches of ground or territory now held.”

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SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—" Mr. Chairman, Sir, . . . "

MR. CHAIRMAN:—" The hon. Member may be as brief as possible."

SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—" I shall try to be brief, Sir. In the morning just as I was thinking of speaking, the Chairman said that the amendments might be moved first and that I might speak later on."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—" That is why I am calling the hon. Member."

SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—" Thank you very much, Sir. I am thankful to the Government for what they have done, but at the same time, I am also sad that enough has not been done. There are various reasons why the Government are not able to do all that they could. But it is time for us to think why they are not able to do all that they could. First of all, let me take the food problem. The address makes mention of the fact that all possible steps are being taken by this Government to maximise procurement and intensify food production in the State. If there is any latch or if there is any defect, they would like to lay it at the door of the ryot. They say that the ryot is not willing to part with grains. May I say that it is not the fault of the ryot but it is the fault of the service that is put in charge of the procurement? The service that is now in charge of this particular administration is, to my mind, not competent, not qualified to discharge the duties at all. By training and by equipment, they are able only to follow certain precedents. They are not businessmen. This thing requires business talent and business acumen. During the last four years, we have all experienced that prices were low at the time of harvest. In the year 1946 or 1947—I do not particularly remember—prices were very low. The Government servants, that is to say, the Tahsildar and the Taluk Supply Officers, went to the villages for purchasing grains at the controlled price. At that time, the market price was very much low and the ryots were willing to part with their grains. But the Government servants were not willing to purchase the grains for three or four months and then the prices went up. As the prices went up, the ryots also like other human beings wanted to make some profit and were not willing to part with their grains. When the grains were not available, we put the blame upon the poor ryot and said, ' You are grieved to deliver so much of grains. Therefore, we are going to prosecute you.' That is what happened in the year 1946 or 1947. The same thing has repeated itself this year also. I remember I have spoken on more than one occasion in the District Food Advisory Council and also in the Provincial Food Advisory Council in the month of May that the ryots were willing to part with the grains at the controlled price but it was the Government officials who were responsible for not procuring them. The agents appointed by the Government and the supply officers who are in charge of this departemnt are not willing to procure the grains, because

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if they once procure, they do not know where to keep the grains. The ration shops have to sell the grains at higher prices while the people are getting grains at lower prices in the open market. Therefore, they are not willing to purchase the grains, from the ration shops. This is a matter which should be seriously considered by the Government. If the prices of foodgrains were low at one particular time and if the procurement officials were not willing to procure then, why do you expect the ryots to part with their grains at the time when the prices soar? No doubt you have got the law in your hands. But the law should be sympathetic towards the people and it should be such that the ryots are not made to suffer. Now, the prices have soared because of the failure of rice supply. I am sure every Government servant, from the Collector to the peon downwards will say, 'We are all armed with police; we will go to every man's house, search his house and procure all the grains available.' But I say that it is nothing short of harassment of the people. May I submit that if any pressure is to be used, that will only alienate the sympathies of the people? It is time for the Government to think whether they should continue to run this food distribution system with the aid of the present food officials. Absolutely they are incompetent for this work. I do not want to cast any aspersion or any insult on their capacity in other respects, but so far as this food administration is concerned, they are unfit and it is time that they should be replaced by another set of people.

"Now, I would like to come to another question and that is the separation of the Judiciary from the Executive. We are very thankful to the Government for having implemented this policy for which agitation was carried on for the last 15 or 20 years. They have already introduced the system in some districts and they are going to extend the scheme to five more districts in the State. Although I congratulate the Government on introducing this system, I should at the same time say that the personnel intended to mete out justice have not been properly recruited. About 80 people were recruited as District Munsifs from the whole of this presidency and they had to serve not only in the Ceded districts but also in the other districts of the State. To my utter surprise and to my utter disgust also, no one has been selected from Chittoor and not even one has been selected from the whole of Rayalaseema. Does it mean that the talent in Rayalaseema is inferior to the talent in the South or that in the Circars? May I say at this juncture that the talent in Rayalaseema is not in any way inferior to the talent in the Circars? If you take the marks obtained by the students in the School Final and the Intermediate Examinations held recently both by the Madras University and the Andhra University, you will find that the number of marks scored by the Rayalaseema student is much higher and so far as the minimum for admission to the Engineering College is concerned, their marks are higher by about 20 or 30. If that is so, why is it that the Public Service Commission which is assisted by an able Judge of the Madras High Court has not found anyone competent to serve as District Munsif? It is true that

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we have to give consideration to efficiency. But when there is efficiency, consideration of economy is put forth, and vice versa. I am really surprised at the examination that is held by the Public Service Commission. I know that the Public Service Commission was intended to remedy one particular defect. That is, when appointments were made by Ministers or by officers who were working under the Ministers, it was said that they were subject to political influence and that the best men would not be appointed. But when I find the selections made by the Public Service Commission which is said to be above all suspicion and above all influence and which is assisted by an able judge of the Madras High Court, I see that it has ignored the claims of five districts. Can I say that it is a fair selection? No, it is not so. Then again, what is the kind of examination that is conducted by the Public Service Commission? They interview a candidate for five or ten minutes. I do not know what kind of questions are put. I take it that they ask, 'How many years of service have you put in?' The candidate answers, 'I have put in a service of five years.' Then he is asked, 'How many cases of crime have you conducted and in how many cases crime was detected?' This is the sort of questions put. I do not know how the Public Service Commission which is probably endowed with intelligence I cannot say, judges the capacity of the individual. I do not know if the Commission was controlled by the High Court Judge. But may I say that they have not performed their real duty? After all, the High Court Judge was there in an advisory capacity. I do not know whether he was on equal terms with the Members of the Public Service Commission. I do not know whether the Members of the Commission were willing to surrender themselves completely to the learned High Court Judge. But let me say that if I had been a Member of that Commission, I would certainly not be willing to surrender myself to the High Court Judge. When the claims of five districts have been completely ignored, it is absurd to say that not one could be found competent to fill the office of District Munsif. The Government may say that there is an Article in the Constitution against which they cannot do anything. They may say that it is the Public Service Commission that appoints and if the Government say anything, the Commission would say that they are interfering in the matter of appointments. But may I respectfully submit to the Government that it is time for them to get an amendment to the Constitution made so that in the case of meting out justice like this no mistakes are committed? There is no point in simply saying that 'we have no power.'"

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"What is the Article in the Constitution that the hon. Member refers to?"

SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—"I have not referred to any Article, Sir. I said that they might say . . ."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"Who said?"

SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—"That is what the Government say, Sir."

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MR. CHAIRMAN :—" I do not think so."

SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—" If the opinion of the Chairman is correct, I would then say that the Government should cancel or rescind the present selection and have another selection made immediately.

" The Address also makes some reference to the vigilance of the police forces and the work that they have been doing. Sir, if I say anything against the police, it should not be understood that I am not in sympathy with the police when they are placed in a very difficult predicament. But I would not go to the whole length of the hon. Gentleman, Mr. Narayanaswami Nayudu and say 'shoot at sight.' As a matter of fact, I was mentioning in a previous debate that the police should be armed with the power of shooting at sight. I was wondering whether he was really serious in making that statement and whether he wanted any Communist to be shot the moment he is seen. I should like to ask him whether any label is affixed on the face of the Communist to show that he is a Communist so that he can be shot at sight. I may be a capitalist to-day and may be a Socialist to-morrow. In the same manner my hon. Friend, Mr. Narayanaswami Nayudu, may be a capitalist to-day and he may be a Socialist to-morrow, and he may even be a Communist some time later. Therefore it is not necessary that a person will always be a Communist. So I don't think that the police—especially the constable, head constable or a Sub-Inspector—should be entrusted with the duty of shooting a Communist at sight. If it is done, we will have to face very grave consequences. Human life is sacred and you cannot tamper with it so easily and allow the police constable and other subordinate officers of that department to take the lives of people. I know of scores of instances where the subordinate police officials have misbehaved themselves by playing into the hands of private people. Take for instance the Circars. There you will find that even among Congressmen there are various groups. One set of Congressmen used to approach the police and say that the members belonging to the other set are all Communists and the other group used to say that this set of people are Communists. Now, if the advice tendered by Mr. Narayanaswamy Nayudu is to be accepted to the very letter, do you know what will happen? The result would be all the people in the Circars would be liquidated, because all of them will have to be treated as Communists."

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SRI B. NARAYANASWAMI NAYUDU :—" I only said that only those who were found to be engaged in subversive activities should be shot at and not anybody and everybody."

SRI N. RANGA REDDI :—" Then, they come under the orbit of the Penal Code. There is no difficulty in dealing with such people. There is provision with regard to private self-defence. If your advice is with regard to giving powers to the subordinates in dealing with such cases, then I have no quarrel. But if you say that because a particular person is branded as Communist, all the powers of the Government including the power to shoot him at sight should be used, then I have to differ from you."

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MR. CHAIRMAN:—"What I understood Mr. Narayana-swami Nayudu to say was that a Communist found to be engaged in arson, loot, etc., must be shot at. I think that is what he said."

SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—"Then it is all right. If it is to be accepted, then it may be made applicable to all persons who indulge in unsocial acts like arson, murder, loot, rape, etc. My point is there is no need to specially mention the name of the Communist in this connexion.

"So far as the police administration is concerned, my hon. Friend, Mr. Venkata Reddi, has made certain observations. But I am sorry to say that I have to cross swords with him on this point. I feel honestly in this matter. I know the police are honest and they discharge their duties effectively and satisfactorily also. He was telling that if there was a case of police shooting and if there was a case of death as a result of the police shooting, no judicial enquiry ought to be made with regard to that. Are we to take it, Sir, that the policeman who shot at a particular spot should have the final say in the matter? Ordinarily in the case of all crimes, there is a judge, with all his intelligence and experience, who is called upon to take evidence and decide, with the aid of assessors, whether a particular person guilty or not. And, we find that there is provision for appeal against this judgment. Now, in the case of a police constable alone, if you mean to say that even if death results consequent on his shooting at a person, there ought to be no enquiry, I ask whether it is just. I am not against giving certain powers to the policemen to control some uncontrollable situations. But if death results in a police shooting, I would respectfully submit that the matter should be thoroughly enquired into. As a matter of fact, every police firing ought to be followed by a judicial enquiry. I don't mean to suggest that in a judicial enquiry the police will invariably be found fault with. I have stressed the need for instituting proper enquiry on previous occasions including during the budget discussions. If this is accepted, I am sure all the suspicions and anxieties of the people would be set at rest. When evidence will be tendered in public while the Judges hold their enquiry into such matters, people will think, 'Well, there was a situation which could not be managed and controlled easily by the police and after all the police have acted in the best interests of the people and the State.' That should be the view that should be anticipated by one and all, in contrast to saying that if a police constable shoots at the people there should be no criticism by the public and the policemen should not be subjected to a judicial enquiry in a Court of law. If the latter policy was accepted, then every Government servant would come forward and say, 'Well, what is the use if my actions are being subjected to criticism? I cannot carry on with my work and exercise my discretion or my judgment if there is interference by others. Therefore there should be no one to question my actions and decisions.' Then it means despotism. You must understand that we are living in democratic days and it is democracy that is ruling at present. Hence, if democracy is really functioning here, I would say that whether it is a policeman or

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any other person, if he has caused the death of an individual, it is imperative that he should be subjected to a judicial enquiry. I do not want that any non-officials should be associated with this enquiry as they may have some sympathy towards the victims and so on. Have a Judge with ripe experience and sound wisdom and ask him to enquire into cases where death has resulted and to give his verdict whether the police firing was justified or not. Otherwise, in these days when there is any amount of faction, these police constables and head constables are sure to play into the hands of one of the rival groups and liquidate the other group. Therefore I submit that it should be the declared policy of this Government to institute a judicial enquiry whenever there is a case of death consequent on police firing. For the last 30 years, whenever there was a police firing, whether the District Magistrate and the District Superintendent of Police concurred in saying that the firing was justified or not, we do not know. There is one view that though the firing may not be justified, it is very difficult to put up these people as accused in a Court of Law, and see that justice is rendered. I do not want to refer to any cases which are at present pending. My point is that at least wherever there is a difference of opinion between the District Magistrate and the District Superintendent of Police, as to whether the firing was justified or not, judicial enquiry ought to be instituted and the decision of the Judge appointed to hold the enquiry should be accepted by all parties. Our Government does not seem to accept even that. What they say is, 'These are days when there is widespread communism. If you go on scrutinising into various details concerning the action of the police and go on complaining against them, then the police will not act boldly and there will be trouble. So let us not institute any enquiry into police firings'. That should not be the view of the Government.

"In his Address, His Excellency has said that on account of certain instructions given by the Central Government, a number of measures have to be cut down. I sympathise with the Government especially when we are all passing through very critical times. I agree that it is the duty and responsibility of all to see that we do not in any way inconvenience the Central Government. But in the name of associating ourselves with the Central Government, we should not delay the execution of any of our Projects and building programmes, thinking that we have to economise our expenditure on those accounts. We have to get through our building programmes. In this connexion, I would like to refer to the proposed College building in my district of Cuddapah. I think in this year's budget a sum of Rs. 3 lakhs was provided for this building. But when instructions were received from the Central Government, I am told this allotment of Rs. 3 lakhs was reduced to one lakh or so. I should think that it would be good if the Government could only spend this one lakh of rupees at least, in this year. My apprehension is that the Engineering Department taking shelter under the economy programme may not send their estimates in time. Even if they prepared the necessary estimates in time, I am afraid they would not spend the amount in this

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year. I would particularly request the Government to see that these things are expedited. After all we are getting such things once in a blue moon and so there is no use of delaying these unduly. I request the Government to take note of this aspect also."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—" May I request the hon. Member to close? "

SRI N. RANGA REDDI:—" One more point, Sir. As regards the catalogue of grievances presented by the people's representatives, I really appreciate the speech of Mr. Abdul Latif Farookhi, the hon. Leader of Opposition. He has said that the people are suffering from a number of grievances. To that extent he is perfectly right and I entirely agree with him. But the solution that he has suggested for redressing the grievances are not very correct. At one time, he advocated the control of prices and said that it was the duty of the Government to see that the price levels were brought down. But when he came to the Government bus transport department, he said that the Government should not take over this industry as he thought that it would create great difficulties. I am not able to understand how he can combine these two things. If you want that the Government should control prices, then in the same manner the bus transport should also be controlled by the Government. If you want Government to control the bus fares—either increasing or decreasing it—then necessarily the management of the bus transport department should be under the Government. Having taken control over this industry, the Government cannot leave it in the middle simply because of some representations that the private bus operators who are reaping enormous profits at the present moment would be left with nothing. If there was one particular industry in the whole State which is yielding good return, it is this bus transport industry. If properly administered, I am sure that this industry will be a very remunerative enterprise. When one notices the keen competition that is prevalent among the bus operators and the race that is going between them one is sure to come to the positive conclusion that one can definitely expect very high dividends on the capital that may be invested on this industry. So, when the Government have taken over this industry, if any mistakes are noticed, it is our duty and responsibility to point out these to the Government. But surely we must not suggest the reversion to the original state of affairs and allow the private bus-owners and capitalists to run these bus enterprises. I have nothing more to add except to appeal to the Government that they should bestow more and more attention on the improvement of the backward areas."

DR. A. LAKSHMANSWAMI MUDALIYAR:—" Mr. Chairman, Sir, this is the second occasion on which we have the privilege of debating on His Excellency the Governor's Address in this House. On a former occasion, I ventured to suggest that His Excellency's Address was an Address prepared by the Ministry and could, therefore, be subjected to legitimate criticism and comment. Like the King's speech, it will be a test of the work

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of the Ministry in power and the extent to which that work has commanded the confidence of the people and their representatives in particular. One of the traditions that we have got on account of the introduction of the Governor's Address is that two members from the party in power are assigned the responsibility of moving and seconding the adoption of a resolution thanking His Excellency for his Address. I have carefully perused—ever since the Gladstonian regime of 1875—many of the addresses that have been moved on the King's speech. I must confess to a feeling of surprise at some of the sentiments expressed by some hon. Members, which might well have been expressed by the other side of our House. I am glad to that extent we have been relieved of our responsibilities. There are certain statutory duties and limitations with regard to such speeches. I have to express my grave concern and surprise in this matter and wonder whether it is at all correct that the moving of the resolution and seconding it should be entrusted to members who are not wholeheartedly in support of the Government in power. It is quite open for any member to come away and say that he does not agree with the statutory Government, although he has been sitting on those benches for some time. I want to make one point very clear here. We are establishing conventions and traditions. So, when you entrust your party-men with such tasks, you must take care to see that they are hundred per cent in favour of the Address from the throne.

‘ Apart from that, Sir, I was a little startled at some of the suggestions made by my hon. Friend Mr. Narayana Menon, for one of the things on which we have to congratulate ourselves in recent times is the loan floated by the Government, which fortunately for us and for the Government has been a complete success. Instead of congratulating the Government and creating more of confidence in the Government of the day to whichever party it may belong, I was shocked to hear a member of the Government Party coming forward and saying that this loan should not have been floated and that we should not leave a legacy like this to the citizens of the future. I wonder, Sir, whether my hon. Friend Mr. Narayana Menon knows anything about State loans and the purposes for which they are obtained. If he had studied the loans floated in civilized countries where democratic forms of government prevail, he would have seen that these loans amount to hundreds and thousands and millions of pounds, because the Government realizes that when you take a loan and intend to use it for a purpose which will benefit posterity also, it should not be responsibility of the present generation alone to face all the heavy taxation. I can only say that my hon. Friend Mr. Narayana Menon was not conversant with the rudiments of economic policy in regard to State loans, for what purpose they are floated and for what purpose they are utilized. Sir, this three-crore loan represents an interest of Rs. 9 lakhs per annum for a Government which gets Rs. 50 crores a year. I ask: ‘ Is this a matter to which the hon. Member should refer as if the Government had done a grave injustice? ’ I am sorry, Sir, I have to speak with such vehemence, but I do want the public to realize that the sentiments

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expressed by members like Mr. Narayana Menon do not and cannot represent the policy of any civilized Government. I hope that this Government will not take serious notice of this suggestion.

"Sir, the Hon. Minister for Education is not here just at present. There is one thing on which I feel I should congratulate him. He has been trying in extremely difficult circumstances to follow an educational policy which will assuage the rather frayed tempers of the public and will meet with the maximum amount of support from them. I congratulate him on the policy that he has adumbrated. I know the difficulties that he has had to go through. For the last four years, I have also known with what pain and humiliation we had to listen to the formulation of educational policy by a former Minister. I am glad that the Hon. Minister for Education of to-day is most responsive and pays great regard to the various suggestions made to him. I feel that it is a proper tribute to pay to him when I say that he has succeeded in a manner that has certainly helped to assuage the feelings of the people.

"Sir, my hon. Friend Mr. Narayana Menon took him to task because Hindi was not made compulsory. I want to enter an emphatic caveat against this talk of compulsory Hindi. I know that it has been put down in our Constitution that Hindi should be made compulsory within a period of fifteen years. But it has also been put down that the Constitution may be amended in various ways. Are we so sure that Hindi-in-fifteen years is going to be a permanent feature of the Constitution? I know what forces were at work in trying to make Hindi compulsory for everybody. When the North is trying to dominate the South, let me make no bones about it. I can show later in the course of my speech in how many other directions it is unfortunately tending to do so. I ask, what is the sanctity about Hindi being made compulsory? I can understand every facility being given and every encouragement being given to anyone who wants to study Hindi, so that if he wants to go for an appointment in the Central Government, or if he wants to go to some other province or State or to travel about the country, he may do so with ease. But, are there civilized countries in the world which have only one language for 325 million people? Let me take the example of Switzerland which has a population of 4½ million. You will not be surprised, because you probably know about it, when I say that three State languages are recognized by the State and that the people who talk one language do not know an iota of the other languages. The three languages are French, German and Italian. The people in Geneva on the side of France speak French; in Zurich they talk German and in Montrean on the other side they speak Italian. Sir, we had the President of the Swiss Republic attending one of the sessions of the World Health Organization. I spoke in English, the President spoke in German and the Deputy President spoke in French—all this in a conglomeration of 50 people. Let us not, therefore, make a fetish of the question of Hindi being made compulsory for everyone of us. What we want is knowledge. We do not want to become linguistic authorities in our country and parade

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our knowledge of Hindi before all and sundry. Sir, let me not be misunderstood. I am all for voluntary effort being made by the Government and by the people to teach Hindi, if possible, at least spoken Hindi, if not written Hindi. But, if you want to make it compulsory for young boys of 7 and 8, it will be a tragedy and it will lead to consequences which my hon. Friend unfortunately does not realize.

“ Sir, my hon. Friend Mr. Ranga Reddi referred to a point on which I feel very keenly. Although it is a long time since I left Rayalaseema I still feel a strong attachment to that part of the State. I was also told of the extraordinary decision of the Public Service Commission, in regard to which they were guided by an eminent Judge of the High Court who acted in his administrative capacity and not in his judicial capacity. It may be that by chance he came from the Andhra districts. But not one single person from Rayalaseema has been chosen as fit to hold, not the position of a High Court Judge or a District Judge, but the position of a District Munsif for which the qualifications which have been laid down are fulfilled by several applicants from Rayalaseema. My hon. Friend referred to the possibility of the Government dealing with the situation. But he had some doubts whether the Government had the power to deal with it at all. I do not think that he has carefully read the text of the Constitution which provides them with that power. May I with your permission, Sir, quote Article 320 (3) of the Constitution? It says—

“ 320. (3) The Union Public Service Commission or the State Public Service Commission, as the case may be, shall be consulted—

(a) on all matters relating to methods of recruitment to civil services and for civil posts;

(b) on the principles to be followed in making appointments to civil services and posts and in making promotions and transfers from one service to another and on the suitability of candidates for such appointments, promotions or transfers;

Let me emphasize this, that the Commission is only to be consulted. The Commission has not the last word in regard to the appointments to be made by the Government. That was the policy that was adopted, to my knowledge, in the pre-Congress days. Whenever the Government did not comply with the recommendations of the Public Service Commission they came forward with a report at the end of the year stating in what respect and for what reasons and to what extent they were not able to accept the recommendations of the Public Service Commission. That report was placed on the table of the House. It was there that the Government had the vote of confidence or no-confidence. That was a corrective for the Government not to interfere light-heartedly with the Public Service Commission. I know the value of the Public Service Commission. I shall be the last person to suggest that the Public Service Commission should not have the privilege that it has at present. But at the same time we do not want to create more tyrannies in this country than there are already in existence. I for one, from the meagre knowledge that I have of the Constitution, do maintain that it will be the duty of the Government, not only its obvious duty, but it will be also to the interest of the

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Government to see that, whenever there is a flagrant breach of what may be called the ordinary privileges of the people involved, for whatever reasons it may be, they come to the rescue of the people affected and later on place the facts on the table of the Legislature. (Interruption.) We shall talk of individual rights for the next several years and I am sure there is going to be a crop which is much more propitious than the food-crop which my Friend has in view.

"Sir, I now come to the question which has been raised by several members, the question about the shortage of food in this State. On this question, I feel, that there has been a great deal of talk but little realization of the need for taking certain definite steps to meet the situation. For instance, it has been stated in His Excellency's Address—

'All possible steps are being taken by this Government to maximise procurement and intensify food production in the State. The Government hope that, as a result of these efforts and the more generous assistance from the Government of India which they have pressed for, the hardship to our people can be ended soon.'

Sir, it is this attitude of the State Government that is responsible for the food crisis. They think that the Government of India is generous. Generous to whom? You say that we are all citizens of India entitled to all rights. Is the right to starvation one of those rights? Why should you ask the Government of India to be generous instead of asking them to do their obvious duty? Sir, it is this attitude that is responsible more than anything else for the Government of India to think that they are casting favours to the geese that swarm before them for these favours. Sir, I have come to the conclusion that the Grow More Food Campaign should be intensified in a manner that we shall have nothing to do with the Government of India in regard to what they consider as doles. I see that the Hon. the Finance Minister—who is not here just at present—has also come to the same view in regard to finance. Speaking on the Budget on 9th March this year in this House, he said—

'The Government of India have said, "In view of the financial stringency in which we find ourselves and in view of the defence expenditure on Kashmir and in view of our commitments on food bonuses and food subsidies, we are not able to give you anything towards the prosecution of your post-war development schemes." Now we have started some of these schemes. We are in the mid-stream as it were and the Government of India now turn round and say, "From 1950-51, don't expect even a single pie from us towards your post-war development schemes." The State Government must find their own resources to undertake their schemes. I am looking forward to the day when no State Government will depend on the Central Government for any subsidy or any grant from them. After all, the State Governments should not be in the position of Municipal Councils or District Boards depending upon the doles given from above.'

Sir, I cannot improve upon that language. I must press very strongly the need for this Government taking all the necessary steps at the earliest possible time to free themselves from the irksome restrictions imposed by the Government of India.

"Sir, I do not want to criticise anybody or the Government of India. But, when a person occupying the responsible position of the Minister for Food in the Government of India, who has

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fortunately or unfortunately a large amount of power of control over the State Governments in this department, makes statements which are contrary to the elementary principles which should guide anybody who is responsible for the food situation in the country, I feel that I cannot leave those statements unchallenged. Sir, the Hon. the Food Minister of the Central Government has stated that there is no question of starvation deaths in the country. Is that an enlightened policy for a civilized Government to look only to no deaths from starvation? Or is it the policy of the Government to see that there is no starvation in the country? The difference is essential. Do we want people to die for the Registrar of Deaths to take note of starvation deaths or do we want to prevent starvation? Sir, let us not talk lightly of more food. We are getting less and less food. The Madrasi was always the most puny among Indians. In the days of Robert Clive, the Madrasi was content with the rice kanji and gave the better part of the food to the European forces. To-day, perhaps, it is given to us to do likewise and leave the better part of the food to our countrymen elsewhere I shall not be questioning that policy if it is adumbrated. But when the Food Minister of the Union Government comes and this us, 'You eat vegetables alone for one day in the week' and when some other person comes and tells us to 'miss a meal a week' and when a third person comes and tells us to 'miss a day's meal in a week' and let it be considered as an Amavasya day, when such suggestions are made to people who miss not only a meal in a week but a meal every day and to those who have neither vegetables nor anything else to consume, we ask: 'Is this the advice to be given?'. Then, what is the competence of the Hon. Minister for Food to give the advice? I have been in other countries and I know for instance the food situation in Great Britain. If a Minister there were to come forward and give such advice, the next day there will be an uproar in Parliament, because he is not competent to give that advice. But if the advice has to be given in those countries, it is not the Minister for Food, it is the Ministry of Food that gives the advice. I emphasize that point. When I say that it is the Ministry of Food, I mean the technical and scientific staff of the Ministry that gives such advice. My hon. 4 p.m. Friend must know it as well as, if not better than, I do, because he was Food Minister. When you calculate the food requirements of a people, you do not say 'eat vegetables, eat tubers, eat grass or something else'. People know they are already eating it. But when you come as a responsible Minister of Government, you have got to say in terms scientific, what are your requirements in terms of proteins, in terms of carbo-hydrates, fats and vitamins, calories, etc. The calorific value of food is the most important thing that you have got to advise people on. A man who does hard labour wants 2,000 and odd calories, a person who does intellectual work requires a little less and a person who always is sleeping, like myself perhaps, wants much less than that. But I ask, is this the advice that a Minister should give us. 'eat vegetables once a week'. Sir, there is a parable that you should never change horses when you are in midstream. Here is the biggest

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crisis in India, the food crisis, and how many changes have there been in the Central Food Ministry? In the Provincial Government also, Food Ministers have been changed. Food is not a thing which you can learn about in a day. Is it for the sake of just having some propaganda that all this is carried on? My hon. Friend said in the speech that he delivered in the Legislative Assembly yesterday—he complained that the Union Government were interfering too much in the day-to-day administration of this State, and that there was very little of provincial autonomy. Yes. When we raised that question on a former occasion, the Hon. Members on the Treasury Benches were furious. I had the temerity, as usual, with an amount of impudence, to move a resolution that the Constituent Assembly's draft constitution should be discussed on the floor of this House. You know, Sir, that it took three months for a second non-official day to be allotted; and when that discussion took place, member after member including the honourable the venerable, the ex-Leader of the Opposition took me to task severely. I am glad so much of compliment has been paid to him for the great work he has done in this House, but then—I am simply mentioning facts—what happened? Three months later, you yourself came, perhaps at the dictates of a higher authority, and pressed that this motion should be carried. Even then I begged of you to appoint a special committee to go into this question carefully and say whether we may not send our considered resolution. The Hon. Finance Minister said 'no'. The Hon. Leader of the House said 'no'. And here he wants to advise us on a matter which we know much better. What is the result of it? The Hon. Finance Minister says that there is no provincial autonomy, that there is no consideration shown to this Ministry, and that they are being treated as if there is little or no provincial autonomy, that they are being treated as if they are mere local bodies. I say, Sir, they are treated worse than local bodies. Here is an announcement to-day which I want you to kindly note. 'Vanamahotsavam in the States'—a great expression indeed,—I felt so when I read it. The announcement says: 'The Ministry of Agriculture in the Government of India have asked State Governments to report before September 30th, 1950,—on penalty of dismissal perhaps (laughter)—particulars regarding the celebration of the Vanamahotsava. The particulars asked for include the number of trees planted, furnishing the numbers of edible fruit-bearing trees and all others separately, the total expenditure incurred, the expenditure expected to be incurred for the upbringing and care of the trees, the commitments of the State Government in planting and maintaining the trees, the amount of public contributions collected for and during the celebration and the efforts made to maintain and grow to their full height the trees planted during the celebrations'. 'Further information has also been sought as to the number of trees planted during 1949-50 and the number which have survived.' That is a very good piece of propaganda which will be a feather in the cap of the Food Minister at the Centre. The Agriculture Minister is also the Food Minister there. But if I were to get a communication from this Local Government to my University, my answer will be a nil

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return statement and 'thank you for the courtesy.' They may do anything they like. I ask the Treasury Bench: 'Do they realize that it is only self-knowledge, self-reliance and self-esteem that will lead them to sovereign power?' I know the facts, and I do not want to hide the facts, that statements have been made—I have been in Delhi many a time, in Bombay, the Uttar Pradesh and in Calcutta—I know there is a big campaign regularly being carried on against the Madras Ministry in order to make out that they are the most incompetent, the most incorrigible set of people that have been collected by any democratic form of Government. Sir, if I am challenged, I shall even prove it. The Ministers here are not cared for; their great heads of departments go to the Centre. For what purpose? They go there, but nobody takes note of them. Whereas when the Premiers and other Members of the other States go there, I know the amount of fuss that is made. The Uttar Pradesh Premier or the Premier of Bombay goes there, and everybody in Delhi looks up, and they are said to be very fine, very great gentlemen; I have no doubt about at all that they are; but when the Premier of Madras goes, at once there is the compliment given which is usual, but nothing more is said about it. The other day the Hon. Finance Minister in the course of his speech in the Legislative Assembly, complained that a Member of the Uttar Pradesh in Parliament came here and after having stayed, he went back and made the remark that the Government grants from the Centre should not be given to this Province because the grants that were given for the Grow More Food Campaign were being diverted to the Prohibition policy, that he took very great pains to say that this was not the case, and he wanted somebody or other in Parliament to contradict that statement. I ask the Government, 'Who is there to support the statement of the Madras Ministry?' You have sent representatives there whose activities we all know; I can tell you and tell the Hon. Minister for Public Works that there must be at least one vocal member of Parliament who dares to raise his voice when the Madras Government is being criticized vehemently in Parliament. That is the position, Sir, and that is why I say it is time that the Madras Ministry, this present Ministry, realized that situation and realized that they have nothing to expect from the Government of India in many respects. Do you think if matters are to be represented to our Prime Minister or to our Deputy Prime Minister, things may not be different? I have the highest respect for them, for their integrity, for their broad-mindedness, for their catholicity, and for their tolerance; but when you come to others, let me draw the veil over the picture as I see it at present.

"Sir, I have no intention of speaking about other matters with regard to the Grow More Food Campaign. My plea is that the Government should take steps now to see that whatever they do for the Grow More Food Campaign, they must do it out of their own resources and do not depend upon the paltry sums that are thrown at them by the Government of India with stipulations so that the Madras Government is reduced to a sort of dependence on the Government of India.

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“Sir, the Hon. the Public Works Minister and the other Ministers are to be heartily congratulated on the novel experiment which has proved a success, that they have obtained through the willing co-operation of the people of the Tirunelveli district an amount which I hope will be sufficient, and if not sufficient, will be added to, by the Madras Government, for increasing the constructions needed for the Grow More Food Campaign. It is that direction that I want them to take. Let us go to our own people who understand it better; let us go and beg of them, no objection. My Friend, Mr. Sanjeeva Reddi, Mr. A. B. Shetty, Mr. Sitarama Reddi and Mr. Gopala Reddi himself, and also my Hon. Friend the Leader of the House, can go to these districts and say, here is a chance for us to utilize the opportunity that we have now, to make ourselves self-sufficient in food. If they will do that, I for one would beg of my countrymen, and say ‘let us be satisfied with 6 oz., let us tighten our belts.’ We have sufficiently tightened our belts, but we have to perforate them again in order to tighten them more; we have to do that if by 1951 this Government are to take all possible steps to attain self-sufficiency. Sir, the Hon. Minister for Agriculture in 1948—I think it was my Friend, Mr. Madhava Menon—who said ‘I have applied for agricultural implements, for steel, for iron, etc., but the Government of India did not find it possible to spare them for us. And when they do it, they do put in so many conditions on the Provincial Government’ Sir, is the Provincial Government not a responsible Government, I ask? Is a Provincial Government to be treated like any private individual, without so much as a right to get what it wants and not given the freedom that is necessary for the Government to do what it considers best. I am not making rough statements on mere assumption; I am quoting from the records of the Legislature, and if I do not actually use the words themselves, it is because I want to spare the time that is inevitably lost in quoting chapter and verse. But every single statement I make, I may tell you, is warranted by the speeches made by the Hon. Ministers themselves. So, it is altogether to this task that the Grow More Food Campaign will lead you, even if successful, so long as you turn your face northwards. There is no sympathy or support there, there is only criticism; and, therefore, I say, let us turn our eyes to our own people; let us go to them with a begging bowl. My hon. Friend the ex-Premier is here, I know his influence, and I know if he tells the people the true state of affairs, there will be a response surprisingly great. And I also know that when the facts are known to the people of this State, they will not hesitate to do what they are asked to do.

“Sir, I conclude just with one more sentence. There have been in the course of this statement references to various things that have been done. I refer to paragraph 8 at page 4 where the expenditure on Harijan uplift is referred to. This is it—

‘The expenditure on Harijan uplift has been steadily and rapidly increasing. In 1949-50, it was Rs. 71.21 lakhs as against Rs. 8.7 lakhs in 1924-25. The Budget Estimate for 1950-51 is Rs. 92.67 lakhs. This increase of over Rs. 23 lakhs in the current year’s budget over the expenditure of 1949-50, is a clear proof, if proof were wanted, of my Government’s earnestness and determination to do their very best for the uplift of the Harijans.’

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I do not see the relevancy of comparison of the figures in 1924-25 with figures for 1949-50. First of all, the purchasing value of the rupee was then four times what it is to-day, and if you accept that, in 1924-25 you spent four times or Rs. 30 lakhs and in 1949-50 you spent Rs. 71 lakhs. Sir, there is a good deal of tamasha that is going on about this Harijan uplift. Members are coming forward, as if they are vitally interested in Harijans. I want to tell this House that this question of Harijan uplift should not be the concern of a few who call themselves very socially-minded people. It should not be the concern of even the Harijan Minister; it should be the concern of the whole Cabinet and the whole Government and of the whole people. I ask the Hon. Minister in charge of this portfolio—and I am sorry to ask this question—how many Harijan colonies have you so far converted into model dwelling places of any reasonable size in the whole of the Presidency? When the first Ministry was formed, the hon. Gentleman the then Premier, Mr. Prakasam, said: 'It is our goal, it is our ambition, it is our duty, to see that as soon as possible, colonies are constructed everywhere which will be inhabited not by Harijans only, but by all sections of the people. I have yet to see a list of the Harijan colonies that have been converted into even minimum inhabitable hamlets with minimum conveniences. There is no use our pretending to do anything for Harijan uplift. Within a few short months, if the Leader of the Opposition is correct, and perhaps he is, because he knows more about the inside of Government than I, a mere Member thereof, the elections are to come off. Mind you, these elections are to be based on adult suffrage. We know what adult suffrage is. It is too late in the day for my friend to speak on adult suffrage being rather unpropitious. He did not think so some time ago and he thought it was a good target on which to attack the Government then. Anyway, we have adult suffrage; we cannot get over it. Sixty millions of people in India, and I believe 14 millions in this Province, will claim their right to adult suffrage. Do you want a revolution to take place? Could you not rather anticipate events and see that something is done, see that there is a steady progressive method of evolution by which these Harijan colonies which are a disgrace to any civilized country, do not exist any longer? If they can only know that in each district half a dozen of these Harijan colonies are converted into decent habitable houses, then I can say your policy will be a policy that is paying in the long run. Sir, I have recently been to a country, Mr. Chairman, where the dignity of man is sought to be maintained on its highest level. The labourer in that country considers himself equal to a federal Minister. We here no doubt speak about it, that the farmer must consider himself equal to a Minister at the Centre. I hope he will not do that, for many reasons which I do not want to elaborate just now,—that is a harmless courtesy and a very innocent courtesy at that. But for one reason I do want to make it clear that if we do not take steps and take them in a measure which will redound to your glory, to your earnestness and your anxiety to look after these people, the avalanche will come

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and throw us overboard before we begin to realize the situation. It is not the communists, Sir, that I am afraid of; it is the social revolution that will come from a class of people who have been kept under for centuries. It is no doubt true that our philosophy has always been that we should take the formula that each man takes care of himself and the person who is philosophical may take care of the hindmost. That philosophy has resulted in this Harijan problem being still before us to-day. I ask that every person whether he belongs to the Government or does not belong to the Government, should take stock of the situation and see that something is done.

"Sir, I have nothing more to add, except I feel that in an address like this much more information should have been available. I myself thought of asking for a day for the Grow More Food Campaign during the next week, but on second thoughts, I did not want to court a refusal from the Hon. Treasury Bench and they do not generally give reasons for refusing such a request. I did not want to entertain the hope that they may, and feel disillusioned afterwards. I only want to beg hon. Members to realize that there is no question of distinction between this side or that side and that in their endeavour to see that the State maintains a reasonable degree of advancement, a reasonable degree, not of prosperity, but of fulfilling the necessities of life, I beg of hon. Members to do everything possible in the light of the observations that I have ventured to make."

MRS. M. N. CLUBWALA:—"Mr. Chairman, Sir, I have only a few observations to make. I would very much like to congratulate the Hon. Minister for Public Health on the encouragement that he has given for the Tuberculosis and Leprosy schemes. It is always very gratifying to note that whenever we go to the Hon. Minister and have any suggestions for improvement, he always welcomes our ideas and also welcomes the work of voluntary agencies. I think the scourge of tuberculosis is to be found in almost every other house in our State and we cannot spend enough money for improving health in this land. We are hoping to have in the State some tuberculosis clinics which are sponsored by the Provincial Welfare Fund. I hope the Government will see that many more clinics of such a kind are opened.

"Sir, I think we talk such a lot about the food problem. Not only that, we have this great deficit in food, but the food we do get, namely, rice and wheat, is so terrible and though it has been so for such a long time, I am really surprised that we do not have more people in the hospitals entirely suffering for lack of this necessary and proper type of food. In this part of the work, I am surprised that the Government have declined to ask for the support of voluntary agencies at least to help the women in ration shops. As a matter of fact, one of the editors of the papers said, what are your voluntary agencies doing when there are people starving and women are experiencing difficulties in ration shops? But, how can we go and try to do something when the Government

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does not ask us to do such a thing? But, I would ask the Hon. Minister for Food to consider the question of the help of these voluntary agencies and let us do something for the women who have such a lot of trouble in the grain shops.

"Then, Sir, in regard to Harijan work, the hon. Speaker who spoke before me and I have different views. During my tours I have found in many places fine hostels run for our Harijan children, and these Harijan children, in their school work, are second to none. Recently, in Anantapur I have visited a hostel where there are 30 girls and I found that many of them have topped the list with 90 and 85 marks. Besides the duty of the Government, it is also the duty of every one interested in the matter to help this work. But, as the previous speaker said, it would be nice to see Harijan model villages. I would like a certain amount of attempt being made in this direction.

"Sir, I find the Hon. Minister for Transport is not here. It is stated in His Excellency's speech that the transport work is getting on fairly well and that the Government hope to extend it to other places. But is it really satisfactory. I would ask the Hon. Minister? We do know that this particular Hon. Minister is a young man with a wide vision and is going ahead and he does tackle things but if he has himself travelled in the buses and moves with the buses I am sure he will see that they are far from satisfactory"

MR. CHAIRMAN :—"Who is the youngman the hon. Member is referring?"

MRS. M. N. CLUBWALA :—"I mean the Hon. Gopala Reddi. (Laughter.) I suggest that the Ministers make surprise visits to these buses. But, Sir, there is a certain amount of warning before such surprise visits are made. I would therefore request many of the Hon. Ministers who are getting on with various things to really go *in cognito* without any secretaries and without peons or in somebody else's motor cars and make surprise visits when they will certainly know many things"

MR. CHAIRMAN :—"They may even go properly disguised."

MRS. M. N. CLUBWALA :—"It will also be very good. After all ours is a democratic country and they have every right to travel as they like. I am sure if they travel this way, they will be able to know that things are not as satisfactory as they are put down to be. I know very often people who come for our meetings say, they are very sorry to be late. For example, the bus from Adyar runs once every 40 minutes or so and so they have to wait for another 40 minutes if they miss one bus. So, we do hope that this transport problem will be solved and there would be better results in this particular direction.

"Sir, Government do help voluntary agencies. I am always talking about this matter and perhaps I am a nuisance to the Government, but I do feel that the Government really have not got that appreciation of voluntary work that they should have.

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The speaker before me talked about the remarks that he heard when he travelled in other parts of India and when I travel in other parts of India they always feel very sorry that for such good work turned out by voluntary agencies and by so many people willing to do the work, the Government do not give us sufficient encouragement. I think, in some instances, we also have difficulties. I would ask the Government to realize that social workers, certainly do not have any ambition to have their names in the papers and there are many who work in hundreds of committees. They spend a lot of time and money because they are interested in the work they do. When they are made to do such a work, Government usually turn down their requests saying, no sufficient funds for this or that. I do feel that if the Government really want to appreciate their work, they will do well to do so. I hope even at this late hour in the days I may have some reward from the Government if they sanction some of our schemes."

*SRI K. NATARAJAN:—"Mr. Chairman, so far as the steps taken by the Government to check violence are concerned, we have really to thank the Government for the steps they have taken in this direction. Whatever might be said about the rebellious communists referred to by my hon. Friend, Mr. Narayanaswami Nayudu, in the Andhra parts, the troublous elements in our parts of the southern districts do not seem to possess arms, etc., with which they shoot others, but they are parading as people who are wedded to the cause of kisans and peasants and it is curious that there are Congress kisans and ordinary kisans, a division in which the borderland is very thin. Anyhow, I am very grateful to acknowledge on behalf of the southern districts, and especially of the Tanjore district, the care taken and the strenuous efforts taken by the Government in the suppression of violence and what was a hopeless state of affairs about six or seven months ago, is certainly a settled state of affairs now. It may be that in some cases innocent people have been made victims or are being tried to be made victims and it may also be on the converse side, is some solitary cases, where kisans have got in, the quiescent mirasdars are not able to cultivate the lands themselves even to-day. But taking in all together, thanks to the present officers there, the Collector, the Superintendent of Police and the other gentlemen concerned and, the initiative taken by the State Government. I think, I must agree that the state of affairs is very very hopeful there. At the same time, I suggest that there should be no relaxation of the efforts and that the State officials there must be always on the alert to keep down any attempt at resisting these.

"Sir, the most important grievances which loom large in the minds of the public there are two things and they are the food situation and the rise in prices. I fully agree that the food situation has been engaging the earnest attention of Minister after Minister for the last three or four years and it is not as if they have been sitting indifferent over the matter and are not formulating their plans for arresting food scarcity. You know the Hon. Dr. Rajan and the other Hon. Ministers have been at pains to

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understand and study the situation at the very spot and are trying to render as much assistance as possible for relieving the food situation. It was only recently that the Hon. Minister for Food went to the Tanjore district, stayed there for three or four days and he was successful enough to prevail upon some of the mirasdars, and in fact, many of the mirasdars, to give up some portion of what they at present possess. Although, he was originally under the impression that there has been some unnecessary storage of paddy with them, I venture to submit with all humility that it was an unfounded assumption, but still he has been successful in prevailing upon the mirasdars to part with what little, or as much as they can, for the purpose of easing the food situation. But, I think all that will not be of any use for the immediate present. It would have been noticed in the papers that the Tanjore District Food Committee has resolved and sent up a resolution to the Government that no further export of paddy from Tanjore district should be made because there is the fear that that district also would become a deficit district if something more was demanded of it. In fact, the procurement target has been exceeded"

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"Cauvery is full now and I do not think the hon. Member need have any apprehensions in the matter."

SRI K. NATARAJAN:—"No doubt Cauvery is full now but there will be hope only as regards the samba harvest. As the Mettur water failed just in time for kuruvai to be ploughed and sown and water was available only 15 or 16 days later than the appointed time, ploughing operations for the first crop kuruvai had to be suspended and it is only now that they have been taken up and I feel very doubtful, whether some of the mirasdars of the district would be able to get enough kuruvai paddy to fulfil the requirement of procurement which is required just at the present time. But, if the present season continues and everything else continues favourably, we may be able to satisfy procurement at the time of samba which I think will be between February and March. I am bound to say in this connexion, and as usual I take credit for the generosity of the Tanjore public and for the fact that Tanjore has been leading in the matter of procurement"

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"I was drawing your attention to the fact that at least now you have got the Cauvery flowing whereas in the Ceded districts and Rayalaseema there is not even a drop of water in the tanks."

SRI K. NATARAJAN:—"I thank Providence that Tanjore is in a better position now than other districts. I was referring to the fact that the kuruvai harvest is bound to be meagre compared with the previous years. Of course, the previous years also were lean years, but I hope the samba harvest may be appreciably better. That will not solve the present situation wherein we are receiving reports saying that ration shops have been closed, or there are stocks for two days only and business has to be suspended, reports regarding tamarind seeds, herbs and grass being taken as substitute for

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rice. For that purpose, I think the best solution in my humble opinion—I do not put it forward as an acceptable solution because many other members who come from the southern districts and Tanjore have given expression to their feelings about the question—I think the best solution will be to import paddy from outside—I understand that Burma rice is coming and Argentine wheat is coming to this country and I also find from the papers that U.P. or the Madhya Pradesh is contemplating sending ten thousand tons of paddy. I suggest that we can even go in for imports from other countries for the purpose of easing the situation and in order to avert ration shops being closed and people being faced with starvation and their complaining that they do not get even the six or seven ounces of ration. For getting that, as pointed out by my hon. Friend Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar, we have to be at the mercy of the Central Government. Regarding the experiences of the Minister in charge of Food at the hands of the Central Government, I fully echo the strong feelings and sentiments expressed by Dr. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliyar and the question that faces is: What are we to do at present? We are in the hands of the Central Government and we cannot now say: We have nothing to do with you. As Mr. Uppi Sahib pointed out we cannot ignore the Central Government now, and we have to do our best in the circumstances. We have to go on as it were appealing to the generosity of the mirasdars; we have to go on appealing to the people to save one day from their ordinary meal; we have to put forward all these pleas, the cumulative effect of which would be felt later on and we cannot estimate its effect now, just as we cannot estimate the effects of the Vanamahotsavam now; it may be that it may look not so useful now but it may be useful some years hence. So, until our self-sufficiency schemes begin to bear fruit, imports alone will solve the situation and that will have to be done at any price. As my hon. Friend, Mr. Narayanaswami Navudu pointed out, we do not allow our children or the members of our family to die on account of want of funds, we beg or borrow of course we do not steal (laughter); so also we borrow and beg of the Central Government to import from abroad and give us what we require. I asked one Hon. Minister to-day whether we have got ourselves the right to import foodgrains from abroad and I understood him to say that he has not got such a right. Then, we should fight with the Central Government, whoever may happen to be the head of the Food Department the Minister for Food. He may be good, bad or indifferent to our needs. In this connexion, I was anxious to know what the Secretary for Food had to say about his visit to Delhi; but I am sorry that his answer as reported in the Press has been vague and at any rate he does not hold out any hopes so far as the Central Government is concerned. My suggestion is that we can fight next year or the year after when we could depend upon our own resources as by then we would have obtained some result out of our efforts; but now, the Central Government must be persuaded and humoured and kept in a mood to render us help. I place this suggestion before the Government for what it is worth. Along with that I would

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also suggest to the Hon. Ministers to go to the mirasdars and try to get from them all they can spare, not on the basis that they have enough or that they have secreted anything. To say that they have something with them would be a travesty of truth. The influence which they have and also their sense of generosity will make them yield up anything which they might spare. I feel that the persons in charge of the food administration have tried their level best; that must be said to their credit and I do not at all agree with the amendment which mentions categories after categories of failures on their part. Failure means that the Government have not taken steps which they should have. What are the things that were proposed to them which they did not try? I was waiting not only to-day but I have been waiting seeing the papers for any tangible alternative solution of the problem. I have been very carefully reading "The Mail," which has been giving some space to these questions and reporting things very truly. The position is no doubt very desperate and I wish to say that nothing that appeared in it is inaccurate. But what is the solution? Except that the Hon. Minister for Food has been misled or has not properly appreciated the situation, we do not see any solution by any gentleman whether he is a responsible official or not, or by any paper for easing the situation. If, on the other hand, some methods had been pointed out, and the mistakes of the present procedure had been brought to the notice of the Government and the Government or the Cabinet did not examine and adopt the suggestion, then it will be time enough for anyone to blame the Government.

"I do not for a moment agree with the Hon. Minister, Mr. Gopala Reddi, when a question was asked in the Legislative Assembly, namely: You say you are powerless; you are a sovereign Government but you say you are powerless; would you allow direct action. He replied—I do not know whether he bestowed full thought about the matter—that the Government would be passive spectators. If that policy were adopted, I should very respectfully say both to the gentleman who put forward that idea and to the Hon. Mr. Gopala Reddi that they should not encourage that kind of direct action as it will lead to violence and further trouble. So, I would suggest that there should be a drastic cut by means of legislation . . ."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"What the Minister said was with reference to blackmarketers."

SRI K. NATARAJAN:—"Rise in prices has something to do with blackmarketing. The blackmarketer stores up and hoards something to be disposed of at fabulous prices, prices unfavourable to the consumer. Direct action at a time like this when we are having settled state of affairs would lead to all sorts of complications. Therefore, I suggest that, for the present, say for one year or two, just as has been done in the case of the Rent Control Act, for a temporary period, the prices of essential articles may be fixed and then if anybody violates, then they may be proceeded against

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and there may be better chances of success in dealing with them than what we have had hitherto though we had been making some effort in that direction. Let there be some legislation by which the prices will be lowered at least on paper so that some people may adopt and afterwards if there is any violation of the prices fixed, or any transgression of the provisions of the legislation, it must then be left to the executive Government to deal with the situation as it arises."

SRI N. VENKATACHALAMAJI :—"అధ్యక్ష, ఆహార పదార్థముల ధరలు రోజురోజును వికారితంగా పెరిగిపోతున్నవి. ఈ పెరుగుదలను అరికట్టడానికి ఎటువంటి ప్రయత్నములు జరుగుచున్నవో తెలియుటలేదు. సామాన్యప్రజలు ఆహారపదార్థాలు సక్రమ మైపుటువంటి ధరలకు లభ్యముకాకపోవటంచేత చాలా వాదలకు గురి కావలసివస్తోంది. ఎందువల్ల ఇటువంటి విపరీత పరిస్థితులు ఏర్పడుచున్నవో, ధరల పెరుగుదలకు కారణములేమో నాకు తెలియుటలేదు. ఈ హెచ్చు ధరలను ప్రభుత్వమువారు ఎందుకు అరికట్టలేక పోతున్నారో కూడా నాకు కారణం తెలియుటలేదు. పూర్వపు రోజులలో అయితే ఇటువంటి పరిస్థితులు ఏర్పడేవప్పుడు ప్రజలే దోపియ్య చేస్తే మరో విధముగానో, విపరీత ధరలకు అన్యాయంగా ఆహార పదార్థాలను అమ్మేటంటివారిని భయపెట్టి కొంతవరకు ధరలు పెరుగుతుంటే చేసేవారు. కాని ఈనాడు అటువంటి అవకాశములు లేకుండా ఉన్నవి. అందువల్ల కొంతమంది ఆహారపదార్థాలను దాచి వేసి విపరీతమైన ధరలకు ప్రజలకు అమ్ముచున్నారు. ఈ విధమైపుటువంటి అన్యాయములను అరికట్టేటందుకు అవకాశములులేకుండా ఉన్నవి. ప్రభుత్వంవారి ఉద్యోగస్తులైన ఈ రిషయంలలో తగినంత శ్రద్ధతీసుకొనడంలేదు. ఈ విషయంలో ఒకటి రెండు విషయములనుగూర్చి మనవిచేస్తాను.

"పంచదార మా జిల్లాకు ఇతర ప్రాంతాలనుంచి ముఖ్యంగా ఉత్తర హిమాచాలలోని ప్రాంతాలనుంచి వచ్చిన సరుకులలోనుంచి సరఫరాచేయిస్తున్నారు. మా విశాఖ కట్టుం జిల్లాలో మాడు, నాలుగు పంచదార ఫ్యాక్టరీలు ఉన్నాయి. ఈ ఫ్యాక్టరీలలో తయారుకాబడినటువంటి పంచదార మా జిల్లాలోనే కాకుండా కొన్ని ఇతర జిల్లాలకు కూడా సరఫరాచేయటానికి సరిపోయినంత ఉంటుంది. అయినప్పటికీ మా జిల్లాలో తయారైన పంచదార నేలం, మలబారు మొదలైన ఇతర జిల్లాలకు పంపించి మాకు ఉత్తరప్రదేశం (U.P.) నుంచి పంచదారను పంపిస్తున్నారు. ఇటువంటి దానివలన మా జిల్లా ప్రజలు చాలా ఎక్కువ ధరకు పంచదారను కొనుగోనవలసి వస్తుంది. U.P. నుంచి Parry & Co., Madras, వారికి పంచదార R.R. వస్తుంది. వారు అక్కడనుంచి మా జిల్లాకు బస్తాకు లాభం ఆ 4 లు, రూ. 1-8-20 లు sales-tax కుగాను యితర ఖర్చులకుగాను వైసేసే wholesale dealers కు పంపిస్తున్నారు ఈ wholesale dealers తిరిగి వారికి వచ్చే లాభం, sales-tax మొదలైనవి వారికి గట్టి పధరపై వేసి, కేయంగరం wholesale dealers కు పంపిస్తున్నారు. ఈ wholesale dealers వారి వలయు లాభము, ఖర్చులు, sales-tax మరల వేసి, వారివద్దనుంచి retailers కు పంపిస్తున్నారు. ఇన్నిచోట్ల లాభాలు, sales-tax ఖర్చులు అసలు ధరపైన వేయడంవల్ల బస్తాకు మా విశాఖకట్టుం ప్రజలు, ఈ పంచదారమీద రూ 11, 12 లు అదనంగా ఇవ్వవలసివస్తోంది. మా జిల్లాలోనే తగినంత పంచదార ఉత్పత్తి చేయబడుచున్నప్పుడు, మాకు ఆ పంచదారను supply చేయక, అక్కడనుంచో వచ్చిన పంచదారను మాకు ఎందుకు ఇప్పించవలసివస్తోందో భోదపడుటలేదు. మా జిల్లాలో తయారైన పంచదార మద్రాసు, మలబారు మొదలైన ప్రాంతాలకు బస్తాకు రూ 80 ల

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చొప్పున కొని సరఫరాచేస్తూ, మా జిల్లా ప్రజలచేత ఎక్కడనుంచో వచ్చిన పంట దారకు ఒస్తా ఒకటికి రూ 94 లు, రూ 95 లు ఇప్పించడం న్యాయంగాలేదు. ఈ విషయాన్ని గమనించి మా జిల్లాలో తయారైన పంటదారను మాకు సరఫరాపట్టుకంటి ధరలకు పంపిణీచేయించే ఏర్పాటులు చేయించవలసినదని ప్రభుత్వమువారిని కోరు చున్నాను.

“అంతేకాకుండా ఈ మధ్యన మన రాష్ట్రానికి ఇతర ప్రదేశం (U.P.) నుంచి వచ్చిన బియ్యానికి మన ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఎంతో హెచ్చు ధర ఇవ్వలసినవచ్చినదని, అందుచేత మనకు చాలా నష్టమువచ్చినదని ప్రభుత్వమువారు అన్నారు. (U.P.) వారు 2½ మణుగు బస్తా 1 కి రూ 40 ల చొప్పున ఇవ్వుట మనకు రూ 70 లకు supply చేసినందువల్ల ఇంత ఎక్కువ నష్టము వచ్చినట్లు తెలుస్తోంది. అంటే ఇతర రాష్ట్రాల వారు మనకు అహార పదార్థాలను ఎక్కువ ధరలకు అమ్మిలాభము సంపాదించుచున్నట్లున్నది. మనకు ఇతర రాష్ట్రాలనుంచి బియ్యము ఎక్కువ ధరలకు కొనకొని, మన రాష్ట్రమునుంచి ఇతర ప్రాంతాలకు పోవుచున్న ఈ సరకులకు తక్కువ ధర తెచ్చు కొనవలసిన పరిస్థితులు ఏర్పడినవి. దీనికి ఉదాహరణముగా విశాఖపట్నం జిల్లానుంచి బెంగాలు మొదలైన ఇతర రాష్ట్రాలకు రవాణాచేయబడుతున్న నార విషయం మనవి చేస్తాను. గత సంవత్సరం 550 టన్నుల బేలు రూ 225 లు నుంచి రూ 230 ల వరకు ఖరీదు చేయబడింది. కాని ఈ సంవత్సరం అదే రూ 230 ల బేలు రూ 192 లకు అమ్మవలసినవచ్చింది. ఈ విధంగా తక్కువ ధరకు నారను ఇతర రాష్ట్రాల వారికి అమ్మడంవలన మా జిల్లాలోని నారను వైరు చేసేటటువంటి రైతులకు 50 లక్షల రూపాయలవరకు నష్టం వచ్చింది. మా జిల్లాలో నుంచి బెంగాలు మొదలైన రాష్ట్రాలకు ప్రతి సంవత్సరం అయిదు, ఆరు కొట్ల రూపాయల విలువ గలిగినటువంటి నార ఎగుమతి అగుతుంది. ఈ సంవత్సరము ఇంకా ఎక్కువ నారి రవాణా చేయబడవచ్చును. కాని గత సంవత్సరము ఇచ్చిన రేటుకన్న ఈ సంవత్సరం నిర్ణయించిన ధర తక్కువగా ఉండడంవల్ల రైతులకు ఆసంతృప్తి కలుగుతుంది. నిరుదు వచ్చిన ఆదాయముకన్న ఈ యేట ఆదాయము తక్కువగా ఉండడంవల్ల మా జిల్లాలోని నార పండించే రైతులు 50 లక్షల రూపాయలవరకు నష్టపడి ఉన్నారని మనవిచేసియున్నాను. ఈ 50 లక్షల రూపాయల నష్టము ఒక్క విశాఖపట్నం జిల్లా వారిదే అని అనుకోకుండా యావత్ రాష్ట్రములోని ప్రజలందరిదే అని ప్రభుత్వం వారు గమనించ గోరుతాను. అంతేకాకుండా ఈ మధ్య మన ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఇతర రాష్ట్రాలకు మన రాష్ట్రమునుంచి పంపబడే నారకు ధరను నిర్ణయించుటకుగాను చట్టమును (Fixation of Maximum Price of Jute Act) పాస్ చేసినారు. దీనివల్ల నార పండించే రైతులకు ఎంత ఉపకారము జరిగిందో నాకు అర్థం కావడంలేదు. బెంగాలులో మణుగు నార ఖరీదు 35 రూపాలుంటే భీమునిపట్నం నార ధర మణుగు 1 కి రూ 28 లే నిర్ణయించినారు. అనగా మన నార ఖరీదు బెంగాలు నారకన్న మణుగుకు రూ 7 లు తక్కువగా ఉన్నది. మన దగ్గర ఈ తక్కువ ధరకు నార కొని బెంగాలువారు అక్కడ సంచులు తయారుచేసి ఇతర ప్రదేశాలకు ఎగుమతి చేస్తారు. ఈ సంచులు ధరపై కంట్రాలు ఉన్నట్లు కనిపించదు. అనగా బెంగాలులోని మిల్లుల వారు మన రాష్ట్రములోని పేద రైతులకు నష్టమైనప్పటికీ తక్కువ ధరలకు నార తీసు కొని దానితో తయారుచేసిన సంచులను ఇతర ప్రదేశాలలో విశేషమైన లాభాలకు అమ్ము కొంటున్నారు. కాబట్టి నార ధర పెంచే విషయం ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఆలోచించాలి. లేదా నార రేటు కంట్రాలు తీసివేయవలెను.

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“అంతే కాకుండా ఈ మధ్యన 2, 3 నెలలలో చేనేత పస్త్రాల ధా పెంపు చేయబడినది. ఈ విధంగా ఎందుకు హెచ్చుచేయవలసి వచ్చిందో నాకు ఆర్థికావదం లేదు. Handloom weavers' co-operative society వాళ్ళ ఈ విధంగా హెచ్చు చేశారు. ప్రజలకు వస్త్రాన్ని సరఫరాన ధరలకు సరఫరా చేయడమే ఆశయమని వెచ్చేటటువంటి co-operative society వాళ్ళే ధరలు ఎంతవల్ల ఎక్కువ చేస్తున్నారో నాకు తెలియడం లేదు. ఈ విషయంలో ప్రభుత్వంవారు శ్రద్ధ తీసుకొని వస్త్రములు తక్కువ ధరలకు అభివేటలు చూడగోరుతాను.

“బియ్యము రేషనునుంచి కొంత మన.చేస్తాను. ఈ మధ్యనే ప్రజలకు ఇచ్చేటటువంటి బియ్యపు రేషను తగ్గిస్తూ ఈ విధమైన ప్రకటన చేశారు :

‘The Government were compelled to reduce the scale of rice ration from 8 oz. to 7 oz. per adult per day with effect from 2nd July 1950.’

“మొట్టమొదటలో మనకు 16 ఔన్సు బియ్యం రేషను ఇచ్చేవారు. ఈ 6 ఔన్సులు 12 ఔన్సులకు తగ్గించినారు. ఈ 12 ఔన్సులు 8 ఔన్సులైంది ఇప్పుడు 8 ఔన్సులను 7 ఔన్సులు చేశారు. ఈ 7 ఔన్సులను కూడా తగ్గించి 6 ఔన్సులు చేస్తారని కొందరు అనుకుంటున్నారు. ఈ విధంగా రేషను తగ్గించినప్పటికీ కూడా మనకు ఇంకా deficit అంటున్నారు. ఈ ఇన్వెంటరీని 7 ఔన్సులు, 6 ఔన్సులకూడా గ్రామాలలో సరిగా ఇవ్వడం లేదు. 16 ఔన్సులు ఇచ్చినప్పుడూ మన రాష్ట్రము బియ్యము విషయంలో deficit అన్నారు. అదేవిధంగా 12 ఔన్సుల రేషనున్నప్పుడు deficit, 8 ఔన్సులప్పుడూ deficit, 7 ఔన్సులప్పుడూ deficit అంటున్నారు. ఈ deficit అనేవానికి అర్థం ఏమిటో కారణమేమిటో వివిధంగా అయితే ఎన్ని ఔన్సుల రేషను ఇస్తే మనకు ఈ deficit ను మార్చుకోగలమా నాకు అంశం కావటంలేదు.

“అంతే కాకుండా ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఇచ్చేటటువంటి ఈ కొద్దివాటి రేషను బియ్యం కూడా చాలా నాశితకంగా ఉన్నది. మా విశాఖపట్నం జిల్లాకు ఈ మధ్యన ఒరిస్సా నుంచి 25 వేల ఔన్సుల ధాన్యం తెప్పించారు. ఈ ధాన్యాన్ని D.D.S.O. గారు స్వయంగా ఒరిస్సా వెళ్లి కొని తీసుకొచ్చారు. ఈ బియ్యం పనులను తినటానికి కూడా పనికిరావు. చాలా నాశితకం ఇటువంటి బియ్యాన్ని ration shops లో ఇప్పించడం అన్యాయం. ఇటువంటి బియ్యంయొక్క samples ను ఇటీవలలోకూడా ఇక్కడ చూపించాను. ఇప్పుడు మా జిల్లాలో ఇవ్వబడుతున్న బియ్యముయొక్క samples నాకో తీసుకోవచ్చాను. వాటిని ప్రభుత్వంవారు చూడగోరుతాను (అని శ్రీ వెంకటవలమాజీగారు తాము తెచ్చిన కొన్ని బియ్యము పాట్లలను మమ్మలుగా చూడవలసినదని సభ్యులకు చూపించిరి).”

Mr. CHAIRMAN :—“ ఏ కొట్లాటాని అని.”

SRI N. VENKATACHALAMAJI :—“ ఈ బియ్యం మా విజయనగరం తాలూకా రేషను పావులలో ఇవ్వబడుతున్నది. ఈ సరుకును మా D.D.S.O. గారు స్వయంగా ఒరిస్సా వెళ్లి కొనుగోని తీసుకొని వచ్చినారు. ఏటిని మనుష్యులు తినడానికి అవకాశం లేదు. 6 ఔన్సుల బియ్యాన్ని తీసుకొని పుణ్యపరమకొండే తినడానికి వీలుగా 2 ఔన్సుల బియ్యంమూత్రమే ఉంటుంది. ఈ విషయాన్ని మా district food committee లో కలెక్టరుగారికి మనవిచేస్తే వారు ప్రభుత్వంవారు ఇస్తున్న దీనికి సంతోషించవలసియన్నదని జవాబు చెప్పారు. ఇతర అధికారులతోకూడా చిన్నపాలు

4th August 1950] [Sri N. Venkatachalamaji]

చేసుకొంటే వారు మేమేమిచేస్తాము. మద్రాసులోపున్న మీ ప్రభుత్వంవారి order చేస్తున్నారు. వారి orders ప్రకారము మేము పనిచేస్తున్నాము. మీరుగూడ Madras నుండి ఆర్డర్లు తీసుకొనివచ్చి మంచి బియ్యము మాకు ఇప్పిస్తే ప్రజలకు కష్టటానికి మా కేమి అభ్యంతరం అని చెబుతున్నారు ఇటువంటి బియ్యాన్ని కనుక మనకు ప్రజలకున్నవయిచేస్తే మనమీద వారికి ఎటువంటి అభిమానము ఉంటుందో గురించ వలసినదని ప్రభుత్వంవారికి మనవి చేస్తున్నాను. ఈ మధ్య మన కేంద్ర ప్రభుత్వంలోని ఆహార శాఖామంత్రిలు ప్రజలు వారానికొకరు కాయగూరలు తినవలెనని సలహా ఇచ్చారు. ఇక్కడ మద్రాసులో నౌకాయలు వీక 5 అణాలు అమ్ముతుంటే ఉండ వచ్చు కాని మా విశాఖపట్నంలో వీక 12 అణాలకు తక్కువ ఉండదు. ఇంక ధరలు పెట్టి కాయగూరలు కొనుగోని ప్రజలు తినగలరా అను విషయం ప్రభుత్వం వారు చూడవలసినదని కోరాను.

“ఇదివరలో 12 పౌన్సుల రేషను ఉన్నప్పుడు నూరు బస్తాల ధాన్యము దిగు బడి 63 బస్తాల బియ్యముగా ఉండాలని నిర్ణయించారు. కాని ఇప్పుడు ration 7 పౌన్సులకు తగ్గించినప్పటికిని 75 బస్తాలకు తక్కువగా ఉండబడవని అన్నారు. ఈ విధంగా ration తగ్గించి బియ్యము దిగుబడి హెచ్చు చేసివచ్చుటకూడ ఇంకా deficit అంటుంటే ప్రజలు ఆర్థము చేసుకోలేకండ ఉంటున్నారు. ఇది officer ల పారపాటో, లేక ప్రజలు సరిగా procurement ఇవ్వటంలేదో తప్పు ఎక్కడుండో Food Minister గారు కనిపెట్టవలసినదిగా కోరుతూ ఇంతటితో విరమిస్తున్నాను.”

SRI P. VEERABHADRASWAMI:—“Mr. Chairman, Sir, while thanking His Excellency the Governor for his address, it is to be regretted that sufficient importance has not been given to the food shortage in the Province. To-day, stocks are very low in many districts, in some districts the stocks are sufficient only for a few days, while in some other districts, the stocks are sufficient only for a few weeks. Sir, Government no doubt are doing their best to move foodgrains to the deficit districts, and it is all a question of essence of time. All facilities should be given for quick movement of foodgrains to deficit areas. It depends on the attitude of the Central Government in the matter, and so it is but right that our Government should press on the Central Government to make more allotment of rice, for our people in the province have been accustomed to take rice only and not wheat. Even wheat supplies are not adequate, and we find in many places, even the wheat portion of ration also is not being given. But, Sir, there is one good coming out of this evil. The present Food Minister in the Centre has realized one important point. There is no good procurement in the surplus provinces and the movement of food-grain from surplus provinces is not quick, and if the provincial government would press upon the Central Government to see that procurement and rationing are introduced in the surplus provinces also, and if that is done as efficiently as it is done here, I think, we can easily escape the danger we are passing through to-day.

“Sir, there are many achievements, of which our Provincial Government can be proud of. Zamindari abolition has been effected in the case of some big estates, and rent reduction has been effected in almost all the zamindaris. The benefit which accrued to the tenants thereby has been immense. And there is one important

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point I wish to emphasize here. In the Vizianagram zamindari, there are a number of pensioners, and they have not been paid their pension for the last six or seven months. Some of them are receiving very low sums, and there will not be loss of service, but want of food due to want of money. So I would urge upon the Government to see that these pensioners are paid their dues. Then there is the question of retrenchment in that estate. People who have put in long service should not be sent but should be absorbed in some other department or in some other estate taken over. Sir, that is all I have to say."

* SRI C. VEERABHADRA RAO :—“అధ్యక్షా, ఆహార సమస్య చాలా ముఖ్యమైనదిగా ఉంది విషయము. ఈ ఆహార పరిస్థితి ప్రస్తుతము మన రాష్ట్రములో చాలా క్లిష్టముగా ఉన్నదను విషయము అందరికీ తెలిసినటువంటిది. ఇది నానాటికి ఎక్కువ క్లిష్టమగుచున్నది. అయితే, ఆహార పదార్థములు కావలసినంత లేవని ప్రభుత్వంవారు రోజురోజుకు బియ్యం ration తగ్గించడం చాలా శోచనీయమైన విషయం. ముట్టమెదట 16 పౌన్సులు ఇస్తున్నారంటే, మరల 12 పౌన్సులకు వచ్చెను. అటుతరువాత 12 పౌన్సులనుండి 8 పౌన్సులు, ఇప్పుడు 7 పౌన్సులకే వచ్చినది. ఇదికూడ మారవచ్చును. ఈనాటికి రోజురోజుకు మార్పుచూ ration ఇస్తున్నారంటే, ఆహార సమస్య ఎట్లు సరిసిపోతుందో, మరియు ప్రజల ఆవసరములు ఎట్లు తీరగలవో ప్రభుత్వంవారు శ్రద్ధగా ఆలోచించవలయును. ఇట్లు దినదినానికి ration తగ్గించడంతో blackmarket ను పెంచుచు పోయినారు. ప్రజలు తమకు కావలసినంత బియ్యము ration మూలకంగా దొరకకపోయినందున blackmarket లో పెంచు ధరలతో కొనవలసివచ్చుచున్నది. Blackmarket పెరుగుతుండేందువలననే నిజముగా ఉన్నంత సరుకు బయటికి కనపడడంలేదు. కనుకనే ప్రభుత్వంవారు ration 7 పౌన్సులకు తగ్గించవలసివచ్చినది. ఈ 7 పౌన్సులు చాలకుండా పోయినట్టి, ప్రజలు blackmarket లో కొందరిని గవర్నమెంటువారికి కూడ తెలుసును. దీనినుండి ముఖ్యముగా మీద ప్రజలు చాలా దెబ్బపడుచున్నారు. పరిష్కారం ఏదైనా విధించి పెట్టిన ఇకముందు చాలా విషయములు. కనుక ఈ ration system ను తినివేసి, దానికిబదులు relief shop లను పెట్టి, వాటినుండి బియ్యమును అమ్మించివేయాలి అని చాలా బాగుంటుంది. మరియు ఒక జిల్లానుండి ఇంకొక జిల్లాకు, ఒక రాష్ట్రమునుండి మరొక రాష్ట్రమునకు బియ్యము సరిఫరా చేయవచ్చును. కొంచెము ధరలు పెంచు అయినప్పటికీ ప్రజలు కావలసినంత బియ్యము కొని తినడానికి వీలగును. కనుక ఈ ration system తినివేసి relief shop లు పెట్టవలెనని మనవిచేస్తున్నాను.

“ఇంక, వ్యవసాయము విషయంలో, ఒకవైపు ప్రభుత్వంవారు బావులు త్రవ్వించుచున్నారు. దీనికి డబ్బుకూడ సహాయం చేస్తున్నారు. కాని ఈ బావులు సరిగా త్రవ్వకున్నారా లేదా, వీటికొరిగిన ప్రభుత్వం వారిచ్చిన డబ్బును సరిగా వినియోగిస్తున్నారా లేదా, ఎక్కడెక్కడ బావులు త్రవ్వించి వ్యవసాయమును వృద్ధిచేయుచున్నారో అను విషయములగురించి ప్రభుత్వంవారు సరిగా విచారించి తగు శ్రద్ధ తీసుకొనుట లేదు. Irrigation department ఒకటి ఏర్పాటు చేసినారు. ఈ department ను ఇంకా వృద్ధి చేస్తున్నారు. కాని ఈ department వారు ఎంతమట్టుకు తమ సక్రమంగా జరుగుతున్నాయో తెలుసుకోవడంలేదు. వారు చేసే estimate లు అన్ని గూడ కాగిత రూపముననేగాని కార్య రూపమునగాదు. ఇంకా, Food Production Committee ల విషయంలో, ఇదిగో ఈ స్కీము తీసుకొని

4th August 1950]

[Sri C. Veerabhadra Rao]

వస్తున్నాము, లెక్కలు వేస్తున్నాము, వీటిని sanction కై Government కు పంపించాము అని అంటూ ఉంటారే కాని పనులేమీ జరుగవు. వారి స్కీములు గవర్నమెంటుకు పోయి, వారు sanction చేయడానికి చాల ఆలస్యమౌతూ ఉంటుంది. కనుక ఈ లోపాలన్ని సరి దిద్దవలయునని ప్రభుత్వంవారిని కోరుచున్నాను.

“తరువాత procurement పద్ధతిగూడ విమాత్రము సరిగా న్యాయముగ జరగడంలేదు. Procurement officers కేవలము వీదల ఇండ్లకు వెళ్లి అక్కడ ఉండే ఏ కొద్ది ధాన్యాన్నే procure చేస్తున్నారే కాని గొప్పవాండ్ల ఇండ్లకు వెళ్లడంలేదు. నాకు తెలిసినంతమట్టుకు మా జిల్లాలో ఇది పూర్తి నిజము. ఎంతమంది గొప్ప రైతుల ఇండ్లలోను, Legislature Members ఇండ్లలోను ఎంతెంత ధాన్యమును procure చేసినారని గవర్నమెంటువారు సరిగా విచారించినట్లయితే తెలుసుకోగలరు. కనుక ఈ Procurement officers అందరి ఇండ్లకు సహజముగా వెళ్లి, వారికి ఎంత ధాన్యము వండినది విచారించి, సరిగా procurement చేయనట్లు చూడవలసినదని ప్రభుత్వంవారిని మనవి చేస్తున్నాను.

“పిమ్మట, leprosy, tuberculosis వ్యాధులు నిరోధించుటకు ప్రభుత్వంవారు హెచ్చు శ్రద్ధ తీసుకొంటాయన్నామని అక్కడక్కడ clinics నిర్మించుచున్నామని, ఈ విషయంలో ఒక scheme ను తయారుచేసినామని చెప్పివారు. కాని మా ఆంధ్ర జిల్లాలో ఎక్కడగూడ ఆపాటి పరిస్థితి కనపడడంలేదు. Leprosy కి గాను Government వారు ఎక్కువ ధనము ఖర్చుపెట్టజాలరని కనుక ప్రజలను డి వసూలు చేయవలసియుండునని చెప్పియున్నారు. ప్రజలనుండికాక, ఆశీస్థులనుండి వసూలుచేసినట్లయితే న్యాయముగనుండునని చెప్పుచున్నారు. ఎందుకనగా ఇదివరకే అనేక కార్యాలనిమిత్తం ప్రజలనుండి డబ్బు వసూలుచేసినారు. కనుక దీనికి Government officer లనుండి వసూలుచేసిన బాగుండునని మనవిచేయుచున్నాను.

“ఇంక, Harijan uplift విషయంలో డా. లక్ష్మణస్వామి మొదలయ్యారన్నారు విశదముగా చెప్పియున్నారు. వారు చెప్పినట్లు ఒక్క Harijan colony గూడ ఎక్కడ కన్పించదు. నెలకు ఒక రోజు Harijan Day observe చేయమని అన్నారు. దేవాలయములలో హరిజనులకు ప్రవేశపెట్టవలయునని చెప్పియున్నారు. ఇది ముఖ్యముగా పల్లెటూళ్లలో విమాత్రము జరుగుచుండలేదు. ఇందుకు ఉదాహరణంగా, విశాఖ పట్టణంజిల్లాలో సాంపేటలో ఒక పర్యాయం Harijan Day observe చేసినారు. అప్పుడు ఊరిలోని నూతులలో హరిజనులు నీళ్లతీసుకొనుటకు తక్కిన ప్రజలు ఆభ్యంతరపరిచి తిరుగుబాటు చేసినారు. ఈవిషయంలో హరిజనులు ప్రభుత్వాధికారులకు ఒక తాళిడు పంపించినారు. కనుక ఈ హరిజనుల అభివృద్ధి విషయంలో ఆశీస్థులు, ప్రభుత్వంవారు తగు శ్రద్ధవహించి వారికి కావలసిన సహాయముచేసి సౌకర్యాలను ఏర్పాటుచేయవలసినదని కోరుచున్నాను.

“తరువాత prohibition పెట్టడములో ప్రభుత్వంవారి ఉద్దేశ్యము చాలమంచిదే కనుక prohibition ఉండవలసినదే. కాని ఇది సరిగా నడుస్తున్నదా లేదా అని అడిగినట్లయితే, సరిగా నడవడములేదనే చెప్పవలసియున్నది. దీని ఫలితంగా ప్రభుత్వంవారు loans కూడ తీసుకొనవలసినవంటి పరిస్థితి ఏర్పడినది. ఇందులో తప్పేమిలేదు. కాని prohibition విషయంలో చాల అక్రమాలు జరుగుచున్నవి. ఇవిన్నియు చాలమట్టుకు పోలీసువారి యాజమాన్యముక్రిందనే జరుగుచున్నవి. D.S.P. మొదలగు పోలీసు ఆఫీసర్లు కూడ రిపోర్టుచేసినప్పటికి సరియైన చర్య తీసుకోవడంలేదు.”

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MR CHAIRMAN : — “ దానికి ఏమి చేయమంటారు. ”

SRI C. VEERABHADRA RAO : — “ పోలీసువారే ఈ అక్రమకార్యా లలో చేరుకొని, వీటికి ప్రోత్సాహమివ్వడమంటే ఇది ఓర్వరానిది. కనుక సరియైన C.I.D. వారైన అయిచోట్లను పంపించి పరిస్థితులను కనుగొనవలెను. ”

MR. CHAIRMAN : — “ అప్పుచేయవలసిన పరిస్థితి ఏర్పడినదంతారే, దానికి గవర్నమెంటువారు ఏమిచేయవలెను. ”

SRI C. VEERABHADRA RAO : — “ అప్పుచేయుటకూడదని నేను చెప్పడములేదు. అయితే prohibition సరిగా అమలుజరుపబడునట్లు చూడవలయును. ఇందుకుగాను కొంతమంది నచ్చుకొన్నటువంటివారిని congress workers ను నియమించి, అక్రమాలు జరుగకుండా prohibition సక్రమంగా నడచేటట్లు చూడవలయును. ”

“ గవర్నరుగారి speech లో labour గురించి ఏమి చెప్పడలేదు. కార్మికుల విషయం ముఖ్యమైయుంటుంది. మా విశేషముల్లో జిల్లాలో jute mills, shipyards, sugar mills ఉన్నవి. ఇవన్నీ కార్మికులతో జరుగవలసినటువంటివి. వీటిలో పని చేయుచున్న కార్మికుల కష్టముఖములు సరిగా విచారించుటలేదు. వారు చాలకష్టపడుచున్నారు. వారి పనివిషయంలోను జీతాలగమయంలోను చిట్టివలస జూట్ మిల్లు మేనేజ్మెంటువారు చాల తొందరపెట్టుచున్నారు. ప్రస్తుతం చిట్టివలసలో లాకవులు కూడ చేసివున్నారు. బేలింగు శక్తిలో ఈ విషయం Law Minister గారు కమీషనరు వారితోకూడ చెప్పినారు. కనుక ఈ labour విషయంలో సరియైన legislation చేసి ఆ ప్రకారము managements ఎవరైతే సరిగా అమలుజరుపునట్లు చూడవలసిందని మనవిచేస్తే ఇంకటితో విడిచిపెట్టుచున్నాను. ”

MR. CHAIRMAN : — “ I now adjourn the House to meet again at 5-30 p.m. after tea. ”

The House re-assembled after tea at 5-35 p.m.

* SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO : — “ As I sat listening to the speeches from the members who belong to the party in power, I wondered if they were supporting or opposing the Government motion. They indulged in criticisms of the policy of Government which could have been appropriately made by the members of the Opposition. Sir, I feel it is essential that a convention should be set up by which those who speak for the formal motion on behalf of the Government should refrain from making criticisms of the policy of the Government. They should try to answer the criticisms made by Members from the other side of the House rather than indulge in criticisms themselves. ”

“ The food situation has become suddenly very grave. How is it that it has become so grave when only a few days back it appeared to be fairly rosy? That is a thing which I cannot understand. On 1st May, the Government had a stock of 277,000 tons of rice. They anticipated imports to the extent of 110,000 tons and procurement to the extent of 697,000 tons for the period commencing from May 1950 to the end of December 1950. Thus, the total availability at the end of December was estimated at 1,084,000 tons. The off take during the period was expected to be 1,155,000 tons. The four weeks supply as buffer stocks required

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at the end of December was estimated to be 130,000 tons. Thus the total estimated requirement was 1,285,000 tons. There was thus a net deficit of 201,000 tons. We were told that we would be getting some grain in the shape of wheat or milo or even rice towards this deficit. I would like the Hon. Food Minister to examine how the stock of rice which stood at 277,000 tons on 1st May dwindled to 143,000 tons during the month ended 15th July. Is it the information of the Government that is wrong or is it a case of the anticipated imports and procurement *pro rata* between May and July not having been realized and, if so, what are the causes? I want the Government to examine the position. The figures I have quoted were furnished by the Food and Agriculture Department and their correctness cannot be questioned. What happened to the anticipated imports? Were there any imports from other States like Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. The Government of India undertook to supply 110,000 tons between May and December 1950. If the imports *pro rata* had not come, what have the Government done to replace the imports? Have any representations been made to the Government of India and what is their reply? In the procurement anticipated for the period between May and December, has there been a *pro rata* procurement between May and July? These figures must make the Government examine why there has been such a sudden fall in procurement as we see from the latest reports besides finding out why the anticipated imports have not come. If the anticipated procurement and imports *pro rata* had been realized and with the stock on hand of 270,000 tons, the food situation would not have become so grave as it is to-day. There must be something wrong somewhere. I would like that point to be examined.

“As regards the movement of grains, there has been a bottleneck. Did not the Government anticipate the present precarious position from the reports that they were receiving from the Collectors? In this connection I must say that the Collectors of Districts have been very outspoken. They have taken the Food Committees into their confidence and have told them time and again how the stocks were being depleted, how they had made representations to the Board of Revenue time and again and how the supplies had not come. It is seen from the Press reports that special trains are being run from Tadepalligudem and other parts along the meter gauge line to bring supplies to the southern districts. Did not the Government anticipate that the stocks in southern districts were going down? Why were not arrangements made to move the stocks earlier? We read in the papers that an officer of the Government of India connected with movements came down and whipped up the railways. For a few days some special trains were run from Tanjore and also from the Circars to move the stocks that were lying. Again there was a lull. Why was not the tempo of movement kept up? Who is responsible for this movement? Why have they failed? The Collectors have been reporting to Government week after week that the stocks are going down. The Government knew that there were stocks in places like Tadepalligudem

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which they are now moving. If these movements had taken place earlier, there would not have been the panic that we see now. As far as one can see the food situation is not so bad as this panic makes us understand. If the movement had been regular and the tempo kept up since the time the Movement Officer of the Government of India came, perhaps there would not have been this panic. It should have been possible for the Civil Supplies Department and the Food Ministry to see what stocks there were in the different places at the end of each week and take immediate steps to move foodgrains from places where there were stocks to places where there were no stocks. Even steamers are being engaged. This is not a new feature which happens in deficit areas. It has happened often in the past. But the quickness with which action was taken saved the situation many a time. I would draw the attention of the Government to the fact that the movement of foodgrains is an even more difficult task than procurement. I would like to see that in future at least there is no bottleneck in the movement and that there is regularity of movement of grains from surplus to deficit areas.

" Time and again we have suggested that there should be complete rationing throughout the State, irrespective of the fact whether an area is surplus or deficit. But for some reason the Government are not anxious to introduce rationing in surplus districts. People in deficit districts are given six or seven ounces of rice, whereas people in surplus districts get the full quota of twelve ounces or even 1 lb. and more. We want that the sacrifice should be as equitably distributed as possible throughout the State and time and again we have requested that the Government should not make a distinction between surplus and deficit areas. In the interests of deficit districts, rationing should be introduced in surplus districts also. Our cry was not heard. From reports I understand that there has been a breakdown in rationing. I hope the reports are incorrect. But if they are correct, the position is very alarming. The breakdown has been not only in informal rationing but also in statutory rationing. The Government undertake the moral responsibility of providing ration in statutorily rationed areas. Once statutory rationing fails, the Government's prestige is gone. It is not a plaything; it is not a thing on which any government can sleep over and look on with equanimity. If statutory rationing is going to fail, as it is reported it has already failed, I warn the Government of the grave consequences.

" I understand there has been some change in the procurement policy. All these years procurement officials were allowed first to ask the ryots who had surplus grains to deliver the surplus. If they failed, they were empowered even to enter the houses and collect the grain by coercive processes. Is it a fact that this Government have some time ago issued an order that no coercive processes should be employed in procurement operations? Is it not one of the causes why procurement has failed? My Friend from Visakhapatnam (Sri C. Veerabhadra Rao) asked how many

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of the pattadars, especially among the M.L.As. and M.L.Cs., who had surplus grains had delivered their surplus to the Government. He wanted a statement to be prepared. Evidently he has informed that responsible persons who are expected to honour and uphold the authority of Government have failed to rise equal to the occasion. In this connexion I would like to draw the attention of the Government, especially the Hon. Minister for Food, to the report on Bengal Famine, Volume I, wherein methods of procurement have been dealt with. The authors prefer procurement by Government agents and say that the procurement organization established by Government must in the last resort depend on coercion. Having set up an organization for procurement to enable it to discharge its duties satisfactorily, it must not be tied down by instructions issued by Government preventing the officers from entering houses. I know on occasions when procurement officers had even to summon the aid of the Reserve Police when they knew that a man had surplus grains which he was not willing to hand over. In times such as this, meticulous regard for the feelings of anti-social elements should not be the concern of the State. It should be the concern of the State to obtain every grain that is available which a surplus holder is bound to hand over to the Government. I say coercion must be employed when soft words cannot bring out the hoarded grains. When scarcity conditions are prevailing, people will like to hoard grains. It is human nature and I do not blame any one. The policy adopted by the Government, especially the Hon. Minister for Food, of going to Tanjore and appealing to the mirasidars to hand over their surplus grains is a very good thing. I remember a similar situation occurred when Sri O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar was the Chief Minister. I know how the Ministers then went about the country from door to door asking people to hand over their surplus grains. Why should not now our Ministers use the influence and authority they possess for this good purpose? Why should not they go about for this sole purpose as the Ministers did in 1947 or 1948 and get all the available surplus by coaxing, by threatening and by all other possible means to save the people of this State, especially the poor, from starvation? If the present conditions continue as they are, I warn the Government that the Bengal famine will be repeated in this State and this City will be the first victim. Already the population of the City is increasing, especially the beggar population coming from surrounding districts where there has been failure of rain. If there are no ration shops in villages which give at least two ounces, what can the poor villagers do except to flock to towns where they think ration is maintained and seek alms at the hands of charitable people. That will lead to a serious problem to which attention has been drawn in the Bengal Famine Report, Volume I. I would like all Hon. Members on the Treasury Bench to read it because it gives a good analysis of the conditions that prevailed in Bengal, where a Government procurement organization did not exist. But here there is a Government organization. If, in spite of that, there is failure of rationing, statutory as well as informal, the consequences will be graver than what they were in Bengal.

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"Then I come to education. A great deal has been said about the extra liability of Rs. 50 lakhs towards grant to local bodies for the spread of elementary education. His Excellency thinks that a great deal has been done by this provision. Evidently he was not apprised of the great need for the spread of elementary education and the efforts needed in that direction. Therefore, Sir, the extra liability of Rs. 50 lakhs due to the provisions of a Bill that will come up for consideration in this House, is nothing if we remember that the directive principle of State policy enjoins upon the State that within a period of ten years, it must introduce free and compulsory primary education throughout the State. It is only a drop in the ocean and much credit need not be taken by the Government for that.

"Sir, what about adult education? On adult education, a grand sum of Rs. 3,14 lakhs was spent in 1949-50 and it is proposed to spend about Rs. 6,86 lakhs this year. What is this amount when we take into consideration the number of adults that have got to be educated in order to enable them to exercise their franchise under the new Constitution? It is also nothing. We need not take much pride that we have provided this amount for adult education. Sir, the problem of adult education will become much more serious when owing to the absence of adequate provision for primary education, more adults remain illiterate. So there will be more adults to be made literate later on, if we fail to tackle the question of primary education even from now.

"Sir, I wish that the Hon. Minister for Education were present here. My hon. Friend Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar rightly paid a compliment to the Hon. Minister for Education for having solved, in a way, the very ticklish problem relating to languages. I am not sure whether it is going to be a permanent solution of the problem, because, as we find in this very House, my hon. Friend, Mr. Narayana Menon, was very vehemently pleading that Hindi should be made compulsory. There may be other members in this House and outside belonging to the party in power, who would urge that Hindi should be made compulsory. Therefore, I do not think we are yet out of the woods in regard to this question. We have sown the wind and we have to reap the whirlwind. This problem of language has been raised and brought up to such a high pitch, both in public discussion and in the press, that any solution offered for it, would not please either the one or the other group belonging to this or that school of thought. I am sure, Sir, that my hon. Friend, Mr. Madhava Menon, will not stick to one idea alone and say, 'This is the permanent solution of the problem.' Sir, ideas about education change very quickly and very frequently. One Member of Parliament recently in a discussion on the Educational Budget said apparently jocularly, 'There are three things in life not worth running after, and they are, a bus, a woman and a new educational idea, because there is one running behind the other in a minute.' That is to say, education is making so quick and so rapid a progress, that educational ideas are changing either in regard to language or the contents or the method, and things are moving so fast that perhaps

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in India we are not able to keep pace with them. But sooner or later, India, which forms a part of one world, will be subject to the same influences that exist in the world, therefore we cannot say that this is going to be a permanent solution of even the language problem in this State. There is a tendency on the part of the Education Department in this State to publish certain definite syllabuses in the Gazette and to compel the teachers and institutions to follow only those syllabuses and to set apart so many periods for this subject and so many for that subject. Thus the liberty of the teaching profession to be free to adjust the courses of studies to suit modern trends and modern developments has been taken away. In fact, the Education Department is becoming more and more an autocratic body and is trying to impose its will and its views on the teaching profession. How far they are competent to do so, is a matter, on which I have my own doubts. As I have said just now, educational ideas change, but our Education Department is least affected by such changes. It is perhaps the last body to yield to influence and change however desirable and necessary it may be.

“Then Sir, as you are aware, I have been pleading many a time in this House for the improvement of the status and emoluments of teachers. Not a word has been mentioned regarding these poorly-paid teachers in His Excellency's Address. I remember that the Hon. Minister for Education used to say, ‘I have every sympathy for these poorly-paid teachers and the aspiration of the teaching profession, but only finance stands in the way of any reform’. Of course the Finance department is there as a check against the vagaries of the various departments, but it is for the Minister for Education to convince them that a stage has been reached when no longer the teaching profession would be satisfied with the emoluments that the teachers are paid and that it would lead to a complete breakdown in the educational system as a whole. Sir, this is not peculiar to this country alone. In spite of what are known as Burnham Scales, which is in vogue in England, the problem of raising the status and emoluments of teachers is as much a live issue there as it is here. That is why, in the course of a discussion the other day in Parliament, one Member got up and said, ‘The teacher is required to have the patience of Job, the courage of Daniel, the wisdom of Solomon and the understanding of the saint; for all this, he receives the reward of a beggar’. This description of a teacher in England is equally applicable to a teacher in this country also. What is it that we pay the teachers and what is it that we expect of them? We expect them to possess all the qualifications that the Member of Parliament has mentioned, but at the same time we tell them, ‘Yours is a noble profession and therefore please be content with what we give you, the reward of a beggar’. But we do not say the same thing in the case of any other profession, which is perhaps considered equally noble. We want the teachers alone to be satisfied with the mere pittance that we give them. A lawyer is not pleased with a small fee, although he follows a noble profession. He demands more fees, because the cost of living has increased. Similarly is the doctor. But in the case of teachers

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alone, whatever may be the increasing cost of living, we refuse to increase their emoluments, on the plea that finances do not permit us to do so, and ask them to be content with the pittance we give in order to maintain themselves and their families.

"Sir, I now come to my last point and that is with regard to the next elections. It is true that a day is going to be allotted for the discussion of this subject. But however, let me take this opportunity of drawing the attention of the Government to only one point. Why should not this Government appoint a Committee of both the Houses of Legislature and ask them to do the spade work and to submit a report to the Government for their consideration? Let the Government formulate their own proposals or their recommendations. What harm is there in appointing a Delimitation Committee to make their proposals? The United Provinces Government have appointed a Committee consisting of Members of both Houses of Legislature, and that Committee has submitted its report, on the basis of which the Government are framing their proposals. May I submit, Sir, that our Ministers have too many things to attend to and that they would have no time to go through the details of the delimitation of constituencies and other matters connected with the coming elections."

MR. CHAIRMAN :—"I think the hon. Member may reserve his remarks for that discussion, when it takes place."

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—"Sir, the Government have already made up their proposals and we are also very eager to know how the Government's proposals would ensure free and fair election. That is a matter on which I should like to have further information. Perhaps when that discussion comes up before the House, I am sure, the Government will be able to enlighten us on that point."

"Now, Sir, I have only one point more to say and that is with regard to the Malabar Tenancy Bill. My hon. Friend, Mr. Narayana Menon, referred to it in the course of his speech. Sir, I may say for the information of the Members of the House, that I have made a study of that question and I am one of those who feel that if anybody deserves to be protected, it is the Verumpattandar, that is, the cultivating tenant. The problems that are to be dealt with by the Malabar Tenancy Legislation, will, in many respects and in a greater degree, be engaging the attention of the Land Reforms Committee. What is the hurry for my hon. Friend, the Minister for Law, Mr. Madhava Menon, to rush through this legislation before that Committee has made its report? Are you going to perpetuate intermediaries like the Kanamdars or landlords, like jemmies in Malabar, when we are trying to remove all the intermediaries in ryotwari areas? This Bill seeks to give them permanency of tenure. Who are these kanamdars and jemmies? They are intermediaries and absentee landlords, mostly belonging to professional classes. I do not know with what idea my hon. Friend, Mr. Narayana Menon, took objection to the introduction of this Bill. Whether he is a jenmi or a kanamdar. I do not know probably because the jenmi's interests are affected."

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MR. CHAIRMAN :—“ The hon. Member may deal with these points in detail when the Bill comes before this House.”

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO :—“ Sir, the Government have been introducing certain legislation based on certain principles. Why should the Government be anxious to push through this legislation, when an expert committee has been appointed to go into these questions? Why should a particular kind of tenancy alone be perpetuated in a particular area of this State? Our object is to evolve a common system of land tenure throughout the State. Anyhow, Sir, I leave it to the hon. Minister and to his judgment.

“ In conclusion, Sir, I once again beg the Hon. Minister for Food to examine the points I have raised just now and if we rectify them now, perhaps we may not have to go through another food crisis in the future.”

THE HON. DR. T. S. S. RAJAN :—“ Mr. Chairman, Sir, I am indeed thankful that our very interesting discussion has come to an end. In discussing these subjects, which are various in their nature and multifarious in their concepts, it would indeed be very difficult for me to touch upon all the points raised and to reply to them in detail. However much we may be criticised for not mentioning certain facts or certain activities of the Government in an Address by His Excellency, I must say that it is physically impossible for the Government to cover the whole ground of all Governmental activities, in a brief Governor's Address like this. The Governor's Address is meant mainly to touch upon the most salient features of the administration and to give an idea of what the Government intend to do in the near future and what legislations are proposed to be brought before the next session of the Legislature. If hon. Members would only look at this Address from that point of view, I am sure they would have noticed that not a single item of any importance or interest has been omitted. It is, I submit, Sir, impossible to expect a Governor's Address to be an exhaustive summary of the various activities of the Government, something like an administration report of the various Government departments. Therefore it is impossible to expect a Governor's Address to be an exhaustive summary or something in the nature of a budget speech, which would cover all the activities for all the year round. It cannot be done. The Cabinet spent hours on the subject of presenting this Address, and in passing it they knew fully well that many more things could be stated, and that for want of time all could not be stated. Many things have been brought to the notice of the Government with facts and figures, and they have been very rapidly developed. We could only give a brief summary of the position, and we have given expression to what the Government have done and are intending to do, and we have also stated the legislative work for this meeting. This has been well said and as compactly as possible in His Excellency's Address. Though it has given rise to a good deal of criticism, and some feelings and sentiments have been expressed,

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I am glad to know that that amount of response has been drawn out by the Address, and we did not also expect anything more either. But it is a pity that it is not of the shape or pattern of big speeches in the States and Parliaments, to which some of us are used. I quite agree with some hon. Friends who remarked that those who moved the vote of thanks and those who seconded the motion have strayed away from the facts and that they have not kept in conformity to the point of view on which they should have concentrated their whole attention. That is because a good many of us are not experienced legislators in the sense that we do not know what is being done in all legislatures, and it must be granted that those of the Members who spoke, particularly those who moved the resolution, and those who seconded it, went, to a certain extent, beyond their limits in their criticism. I also agree that the criticism by the Members of the Government should be more or less in the true spirit of the Address, and that is the correct way. But in a discussion which was so desultory, and so vehement, it was not possible to correlate what has been done, and, therefore, we dissipated our energies and attention that we should devote to this subject. Even so, two days' debate in the Assembly and a full day's debate in a small House of this sort, is certainly preferable and is worth having. I am very thankful to all the hon. Members who have devoted their thought and attention on important questions like food, education, transport, and other things. And I am sure their suggestions will be taken note of, and such advice as has been tendered will be considered, and will also be put into practice. In the matter of food, one hon. Member wanted to reveal the fact that the figures of procurement have not been thoroughly scrutinised or at least as correctly scrutinised as to forewarn us as to what will happen. We do not yet know what will come. At least as far as I am concerned, I do not yet know the full facts of food shortage that we are passing through. It may be that many other considerations will come to our help. In the meantime food ships may arrive from other countries. Other considerations that we do not anticipate might prevail, and might be at work. In that way we might even be able to escape this threatened catastrophe. But it does not make us less anxious on that account. Those of us who are responsible and who have worked for the maintenance of the food level in this Province know full well that we have got really a difficult time to go through. In fact even in the past the whole country passed through a threatening crisis in regard to food. One thing we should not forget. That is, for three long and consecutive years, our monsoons have failed us. It should be something superhuman on the part of any individual or Government to say that they have successfully tackled it. Rains are not at our bidding, and by a strange fate, three successive monsoons have, one after another, failed us. He must be a bold man who says that he has tackled the food problem very satisfactorily. We, the Government, do not say that. We do maintain that we have made every effort possible to secure as much of food material as was available, and

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if further efforts are necessary, they are being taken. I would draw the attention of the House to the note of the Food Secretary who has returned from Delhi this morning. It gives us certainly a more encouraging report than what we have heard in both the Houses to-day and yesterday. That the food position is desperate enough, we grant. But it is not so hopelessly bad as to make us lose our balance of judgment in this matter and get into a fright, and lose what we should possess, particularly at a critical time like this. It has always been my pride when I was in charge of Food that we of this Province were very clever with regard to our procurement of grains. I thought always that we did much better than any other Province. Even such an able organiser and administrator like the President of our Indian Union personally told me that our procurement arrangements had been absolutely unique. They viewed the position in their own way, and stated that the action we took was the correct one, and perhaps worthy of being copied by other States. This was years ago. But things had now changed, because three successive famine years have repeatedly drawn out our resources to such an extent that we are now almost on the verge of despair. But I do believe the season of this trial is fast being got over. Rains are promising. With rains in this season and in the season that is following, I am fairly certain that this crisis would be got over if only we work with a little vigour in the procurement of grains which we badly require. The Government are anxious to go and secure as much grains as are available or could be had. Therein of course lies a very great difficulty. Because the fear in which the people are pursued for the delivery of grains has naturally a reaction of its own, and as some hon. Members remarked, it has instilled an unnecessary fear and fright in the minds of the public. But then it is no use of having no food. We must make more efforts than what we made before. Some hon. Members reminded us that in previous years when we met with something like the present crisis, we rushed to the houses of producers of food, and implored them to give of every thing they had. Such a thing will be repeated, and will be repeated again and again, and I hope with great success. It does not deserve any mention. We are bound to do it, and I am sure also that our people are bound to respond responsively to the appeal that we make. Even so, the time and factor of the season are such that they do not put strength and courage in the minds of the producers. In fact, I was rather distressed to hear that the people of Tanjore did not want to export their rice to other districts of this State. It is a tragedy if they should so make up their minds. For the last so many years Tanjore has been our food granary, and they have unstintingly given to the last of their grain. I do not think that that attitude of safety prompted by narrow-mindedness will save either them or us. I would earnestly appeal to all people who produce grains to do all their best to surrender as much as they possibly can, and do all that is necessary.

“The Food Minister is now engaged in finding out alternative food or additional food to our people. Fish is the one on which he is concentrating. He expects greater production provided

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facilities are placed by the Government to catch the fish that are so plentifully available in the sea round about us. If we can possibly try and work more vigorously, I am hopeful that fish in the form of food will be readily available to us. After all, as a food, fish is incomparably superior to many grains that we are trying to get. It is a nourishing and strength-giving food, and a food which will be easily available within the resources of the poor. I know it for a fact, and I can speak with the authority of a medical man that fish is a nourishing food. I am sure the Government are going to provide facilities for catching fish, and with the means of transport helping us, we can tide over the crisis. But I for one do not want to be in the false belief. I would like every citizen in this State to come forward and give us the help that is absolutely necessary in this food campaign.

“I was rather surprised to hear criticisms about our transport service. That has been the victim of criticism by the Members of this House, by the public and by speakers on the platform. But we do not realise the amount of service that the Government are doing to the public of the Province by our transport service. We have made our transport worthy of travelling in. That is a thing which many people yet do not understand. Our transport vehicles are good and well constructed. They are bearing a good deal of wear and tear on our roads. What is more? It is not such a desperate financial proposition as people once spoke about it. It is going to add to the resources of the State, provided they are well managed as they are being done to-day. It is no doubt true that the transport problem is going to be solved in one way or another, and it is going to be extended to a few other districts. I am already having a warning ‘do not go out of Madras; stick to Madras and remain here alone’. That is what those people seem to tell me. If we are worthy and deserving of our transport system, we should extend the luxury of transport to the extreme parts, to all those who are needy and to the extent that the Government could render service. We have made up our mind to slowly, carefully and progressively develop the transport system as a comfort for our citizens and also indirectly as a source of revenue for the State. In the light of experience we have had so far we shall extend it and that experience really encourages us to proceed further.

“With regard to many other things that were mentioned, I have nothing more to add except that in whatever we may do you may rest assured that we shall not rush any new scheme of things without taking into consideration every factor that conduces to the well-being and good service of the people, and whether in the field of education, food, medicine or public health, we always take great care to go by experience, by practice and by our own observations, so that we may be assured that the step we take is the right one and is meant for our progress and development. All of us who have presented this address to His Excellency the Governor know full well that all of us have the interests of the free citizens of the State in our hearts and in doing so we spare no pains to do what we can while at the same time we open our eyes to every

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well-meaning criticisms made by people who love their country and we will always be ready to serve them and the country to the best of our ability. After all, our State is nothing if we do not give it our best and that in the right spirit. We who have come forward to serve are trying to serve and get the trust and confidence of the people of the State.

“ Unfortunately to-day there has been a bit of overenthusiasm and a little stiffness in the speeches of some of the Members of this House from whom I did not expect that kind of criticism. It seemed to them that Northern India was at arms against Southern India. It is absolutely an imaginary fear, not warranted by facts. To-day North India is as much as South India and we have to serve one India to-day realizing that we have to fight in the battle of food and of everything that we could possibly imagine. It is in that spirit that we have to fight and not in the spirit of war of the North against the South. It may be that the Food Minister to-day is a North Indian but to-morrow some one of us may be the Food Minister and a man of the South. It is not the distinction between the South and the North that has got to be brought about in a Parliamentary or in a Legislative discussion altogether. It is unfortunate that some such sentiments were expressed to-day by responsible people from whom I did not expect them. We are struggling together in an infant democracy, in a new independent nation, to pull our strength and to gather our strength in everything that we do, in the act of service to the people, in the act of securing all that is good for us and in every other effort leading to the welfare of the people. We shall not give place to disruptive tendencies which have for long kept us as slaves in the past. I hereby warn this House that no room shall be given to such sentiments and to the development of such sentiments.

“ I was pained to hear the remarks about the imparting of religious instruction in schools made by one of our legislators to-day. I am not against it but it is left to each community or to such of those who are interested in it to make arrangements for such instruction as is possible and certainly the State will give them every help. But you make it a duty of the State. It is certainly too much to expect of a democratic State to impart religious instruction in schools. But in so far as religious education goes, I do not think that the State can ever stand in the way when it has declared openly that it can be given to anybody.

“ With regard to communism and communalism, a lot of things has been said. The Communist menace was not brought by anybody into this State. We have got to face it because it is there and when it is there we are employing all means at our disposal to control and combat the evil. Our police have certainly done well and so have our Government. To-day one of the legislators said that the police beat some of the Communists. I can say it is wrong if it were true. Since it has been brought to our notice, I can assure you that we shall go into the matter and if it

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is true we shall not hesitate to take such action as may be necessary. Having said that, I do feel that we have fought communism to such an extent that even the Communists themselves have found that it is not wise to adopt the policy of looting, murder and inflaming the public mind against themselves. They have found that they cannot do any longer such things as they have done in the past. To that extent we are glad but it does not allow us to breathe freely until we know exactly that the propaganda of violence promulgated by a body of people as an ideology and as an ideal of their own so different from ours has been given up. Therefore, it is that we have made mention of in the Address given to the House by His Excellency the Governor just to show that we are aware of the menace and that we are taking every step to see that it does not develop to an uncontrollable degree. In this work we have got to face very great risks. We want the co-operation of every well-wisher of the State, of every citizen of the land, of every man and woman, villager or townsman. We should not allow this mushroom evil to develop to the hindrance of the society and to the hindrance of the people. Communism is fast spreading in many other countries, but we at least in India constituted as we are should endeavour not to become victims of these avalanche waves. We do hope to have an orderly Government even if it be by a change of formula or change of doctrine but it shall not be to the disgrace of our nation as such. Unlike other countries we have lived as a nation by spiritual instincts which have gone into the very life of the people, and institutions have grown just making us strong and strong enough to resist all sorts of evils created by malicious people. It is good to notice that their initial enthusiasm has fallen. We shall hereafter with our strength see that that evil does not raise its dangerous head much more than it has done in the past. It is only in that spirit that we have asked the Governor to tell the country what we feel and I suppose he has said it very clearly without any doubt in the matter.

“Of course, I can speak a good deal about many other things that have been talked about but it is not my intention to take up more time of the House. It will be a big voluminous talk, quite out of place and not meant as a reply to the speeches made here. The discussions have practically covered the whole subject of administration, from beginning to end and it is impossible to go into them fully. But I would only like to say that we as a Government who are responsible for the production of the report through His Excellency the Governor are fully aware of all the happenings and with the co-operation of the public we will tide over the difficulties. We shall lay our cards on the table, not hide our actions, but tell our people what we hope to do and enlist their co-operation. This is the purpose for which this debate has been arranged.

“I am very thankful to the Governor for his Address. He has always been a very good and nice gentleman and has shown himself keenly aware of his responsibility towards the big State and both the Houses of the Legislature.

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"I do hope that the Resolution of thanks to the Governor moved by a Member of this Party, though not very ably worded but which expresses what we mean, will be acceptable to the House."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"Is the Leader of the Opposition pressing his amendment?"

JANAB ABDUL LATIF FAROOKHI:—"Yes, Sir, I press the amendment."

Then the amendment of Mr. Farookhi was put to the vote and lost.

Janab K. M. Uppi withdrew his amendment, with the leave of the House. Sri B. Narayanaswami Nayudu was not in his seat and it was deemed that his amendment was not pressed.

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"I now put the main motion to the vote of the House. The motion reads as follows:—

"That an humble Address be presented to His Excellency as follows:

'May it please Your Excellency,

We, the Members of the Madras Legislative Council, beg leave to thank Your Excellency for the Address delivered to both the Houses of the Legislature,"

The motion was carried.

IV.—GOVERNMENT BILLS.

THE MADRAS BUILDINGS (LEASE AND RENT CONTROL)

AMENDMENT BILL 1950.

THE HON. SRI N. SANJEEVI REDDI:—"Sir, I am seeking permission to introduce the Madras Buildings (Lease and Rent Control) Amendment* Bill, 1950, and to move that the Bill be taken into consideration at once.

"This is a simple amending Bill. This only extends the life of the present Act by one year. The other Bill containing the amendments proposed by the Select Committee will be before the House at a later stage. Meanwhile I want the present Act to be extended for a period of one year so that it may get the assent of the President before the time expires, that is, the 30th September 1950. So, I ask your permission to move that the Bill be taken into consideration at once."

MR. CHAIRMAN:—"The question is—

'That the Madras Buildings (Lease and Rent Control) Amendment Bill, 1950, be taken into consideration at once'."

SRI R. SURYANARAYANA RAO:—"Sir, I have great pleasure in supporting the motion."

The motion was then put and carried.

Clauses 2 and 1 and the preamble were put one after the other and carried.

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